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M E M O I R S

OF THE

L I F E A N D R E I G N

O F

F R E D E R I C K T H E T H I R D ,

K I N G O F P R U S S I A .

B Y J O S E P H T O W E R S , L . L . D .

I N T W O V O L U M E S .

V O L . I .

L O N D O N :

P R I N T E D F O R C H A R L E S D I L L Y , I N T H E P O U L T R Y .

M D C C L X X V I I I .

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M E M O I R S

OF THE

LIFE AND REIGN

1200 e16



FREDERICK THE THIRD

KING OF SWEDEN

BY JOSEPH TOWERS, LL.D.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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P R E F A C E.

FREDERICK the Third, the late King of Prussia, was superior to every other prince of the age in which he lived, for the extent of his abilities, his talents as a statesman and a general, his military exploits, and his literary attainments; and he excited the attention of mankind, in a very high degree, during a great part of the present century. Such, indeed, were his actions, and such his endowments, that ages may revolve, before ano-

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ther monarch shall arise, equally active, able, enterprizing, and warlike, and in whom such various talents are united. A prince, who possessed abilities thus splendid and uncommon, and thus conspicuously and remarkably exerted, must naturally be a considerable object of literary curiosity; and we are solicitous to become accurately acquainted with so extraordinary and so distinguished a character.

THE Writer of the present Work is aware of the extreme difficulty of doing justice to his subject; but he has endeavoured to give an accurate and impartial account of the principal transactions of the life and reign of the late celebrated Prussian monarch,

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narch, so far as proper information came within his reach; and it has been his aim not only justly to exhibit the public qualities of **FREDE- RICK**, as a king and as a hero, but also his more private character as a man, and as a lover of literature, science, and the arts. He has not, however, been induced, by the splendour which surrounded the hero concerning whom he writes, to vindicate his actions, when they were repugnant to justice and to humanity. The rights of mankind are of infinitely more importance than the honour or the interests of princes; and however flattering the representations that may be given of kings during their lives, there

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can be no reason that these representations should be continued for the deception of posterity.

As the Writer was desirous of giving to his Work as much authenticity as possible, the references to his authorities will be found to be numerous; and where the authors, from whom his facts are derived, relate incidents and transactions of which they were themselves eye-witnesses, he has sometimes given longer notes, and more copious extracts, than he otherwise would have done, from a desire of communicating the most exact and satisfactory information, and of enabling his readers to judge for themselves of the

P R E F A C E.

the authenticity of the facts that are related.

IN the course of this Work, accounts are occasionally given, particularly in the notes, of men of letters, who were patronized by the King of Prussia, or with whom he was connected; and it is presumed, that this part of the Work will not be unacceptable to readers of a literary taste, to whom anecdotes of literary men are generally more interesting, than minute accounts of sieges and of battles.

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OF
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C H A P. I.

The birth of Frederick III. king of Prussia.—He is instructed in his infancy in the French language, and early trained up in military exercises.—Accompanies his father on a visit to Augustus, king of Poland.—Is present at a splendid military entertainment.—Character of his father, Frederick William, the second king of Prussia.—The prince forms a scheme to quit his father's dominions.—His design discovered, and a young officer executed, who was to have accompanied him in his travels.—The prince himself confined in the castle of Custrin.—He is released, and his father becomes reconciled to him.

THE great Prince, the incidents of whose life, and the transactions of whose reign, I have undertaken to relate, was the eldest son of

CHAP. I. Frederick William, the second king of Prussia, by
 A. D. Sophia Dorothea, daughter of George the First,
 1712.

king of England. He was born at Berlin, on the 24th of January, 1712. He was baptized by the name of CHARLES FREDERICK; but he afterwards chose to be known only by the name of FREDERICK, wholly omitting CHARLES, both in his private letters, and in his public memorials and state-papers. In his infancy he was chiefly committed to the care of madam de Rocoule; and as this lady spoke only French, he was early familiarized to that language¹; which was probably the cause of that partiality to it, which he ever afterwards discovered. But, at seven years of age, he was taken out of the hands of the women; and the count de Finck, of Finckenstein, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of a regiment of horse, was appointed his governor, and the baron de Kalestein his sub-governor².

He appears to have received little instruction in literature, or the sciences; for the great object of the king his father was, to inspire into him a taste for a military life [A]; so that, even when a boy, he

¹ Pollnitz's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 27. edit. Lond. 1745.

² Ibid. p. 28.

[A] The author of the "History of Prussia, particularly during the reign of the late king Frederick William," which was first published in the German language, but of which an English translation was printed, in 8vo. in 1756, says, "Our monarch, desiring to transmit to his successor the same

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he was well versed in military discipline. In 1723, CHAP. I.
A. D.
1723. when he was in the twelfth year of his age, George the First, king of Great-Britain, went from Hannover to Berlin, to pay a visit to the king and queen of Prussia; and on the second day after his Britannick majesty's arrival, the prince royal of Prussia, in order to entertain him, appeared on an esplanade, near the gardens of the palace, at the head of three hundred young gentlemen cadets, of whom he was colonel, and whom he exercised, with a degree of dexterity that surprized the British monarch³. The prince did not, however, confine himself to his military exercises; but applied himself closely to the study of polite literature, particularly poetry, and very early discovered a strong propensity to music.

In 1728, the prince accompanied his father on a visit to Augustus, king of Poland, who had invited his Prussian majesty to pass the carnival with him at Dresden; and on this occasion the Polish monarch conferred the order of the White Eagle on the prince of Prussia, and presented him with a A. D.
1728.

“ same martial inclination, which he had himself to a supreme degree, caused a little arsenal to be made in the great hall of Orange, for the prince royal, his son, who was a promising youth, and entering into the ninth year of his age. This arsenal contained several small pieces of artillery, a quantity of little fusils, and other arms proportioned to his age.” P. 282.

³ History of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 305.

CHAP. I. cross of the order worth 12,000 crowns *. About
A. D.
1728.

two years after, he also went with his father, to be present at a very splendid military entertainment, which was made at the expence of the king of Poland, in the plain of Muhlberg, in the marquisate of Misnia, at the distance of about half a league from the Elbe. A camp was formed, and troops were assembled, to the amount of 30,000 men, for the purpose of performing various military evolutions. The camp was divided into two lines, each of which contained half the army, and took up the whole breadth of the plain; and the cavalry was placed on the two wings of each line, and the artillery in the center. The corners and extremities of the camp were terminated by pyramids of hewn stone, thirty-six feet high, finely cut and ornamented; and these pyramids marked out the extent of the place of arms, which was a mile long, and of equal breadth. Various temporary edifices were erected, and several days were passed in different military amusements. Mock fights were exhibited; and in the evenings superb fire-works were played off, and comedies performed; to which were added balls and concerts.

It was not long after their return home from this excursion, that a great misunderstanding took place between the king of Prussia and his son the prince-

* History of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 376. † Ibid. p. 402—419.

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royal, and which at length arose to such a height, as to induce the latter to form a resolution to quit his father's dominions. Of the particular ground of this quarrel, we are not informed; though it has been intimated, that the misunderstanding between them was fomented by count Seckendorff⁶; but it has generally been accounted for from the violent temper of the king, and the austerity of his behaviour; which renders it necessary to make here some observations respecting his character and manners.

CHAP. I.
A. D.
1728.

FREDERICK WILLIAM, the second king of Prussia, was a prince whose ideas were almost wholly military, and the principal object of whose reign, from the very commencement of it, was, to render himself respectable to his neighbours, by keeping up a numerous army. By his frugal administration of his finances he contrived, the very first year of his reign, to maintain fifty thousand men, without any foreign subsidies⁷. His greatest pleasure was to be master of the tallest regiment in Europe; he spared no expence to procure the largest men he could meet with; and he seems to have scrupled no methods of obtaining men for his pur-

⁶ History of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 420.

⁷ Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, written by his Prussian Majesty, Lond. 1768. vol. II. p. 6.

CHAP. I. pose [B]. Voltaire says, that this monarch ' used
 A. D. ' to walk from his palace clothed in an old blue
 1728. ' coat,

[B] He not only employed persons to enlist soldiers for him in different countries, but his agents sometimes took men by force out of the territories of other princes. Among others, a brewer was forcibly taken out of a village in Poland, belonging to general count Fleming; who made repeated remonstrances against this violence, but without effect. The Prussian enlists also took several tall men by force out of the electorate of Hanover. *Hist. of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William*, p. 306, 377. A conduct so violent, and so repugnant to reason, justice, and the law of nations, gave so much offence to George II. who, in 1727, succeeded to the throne of Great-Britain, that it had nearly occasioned a war between Hanover and Prussia. By the command of his Britannick majesty, some Prussian subaltern officers and soldiers were arrested in Hanover, by way of reprisal for the Hanoverians that had been forcibly enlisted by the Prussians. Manifestoes were published on both sides, and troops were assembled; but the affair was at length accommodated, without coming to extremities, by the interposition of other powers. A great animosity, however, afterwards continued between Frederick William and the king of England; though it might, perhaps, be increased by other causes. Baron Bielfeld says, that the quarrel between them had once arisen so high, ' that the two monarchs, after the ' example of Charles V. and Francis I. had determined to ' decide it by single combat; that the king of England had ' fixed on brigadier Sutton for his second; and that his Prussian majesty had made choice of colonel Derschau; the territory of Hildersheim being appointed for the rendezvous. ' His Britannick majesty was then at Hanover, and his Prussian majesty was already arrived at Saltzdahl, near Brunswick. Baron von Bork, who had been the Prussian minister

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‘coat, with copper buttons, half way down his
‘thighs; and when he bought a new one, these
‘but- CHAP. I.
A. D.
1728.

‘nister at London, and was dismissed from that court in a
‘very ungracious manner, arriving at Saltzdahl, found the
‘king his master in so violent a rage, that he did not think
‘it advisable directly to oppose his design; but, on the con-
‘trary, in order to gain time, seemed to approve of the
‘choice of a single combat, and even offered his service to
‘carry the cartel. But entering the king’s apartment about
‘an hour after, he took the liberty to say, “Sire, I am
“convinced, that your majesty’s quarrel ought not to be de-
“cided but by a duel; and, if I may be allowed the expres-
“sion, as between one gentleman and another. But your
“majesty is scarcely recovered from a dangerous illness, and
“have still remaining all the symptoms of your late disor-
“der: how unfortunate, therefore, would it be, if you
“should relapse the evening before the combat, or even that
“very morning? what a triumph would that be for the king
“of England? and what would the world say? What odious
“suspicions would it cast upon your majesty’s courage?
“Would it not, therefore, be far better to postpone the af-
“fair for a few days, till your majesty’s health is establish-
“ed?” The king, they say, acquiesced, though with diffi-
‘culty, in these reasonings; the cartel was not sent; the
‘ministers on both sides gained time; the wrath of the two
‘kings by degrees evaporated; and by the next year they
‘became in some degree reconciled.’ Bielsfeld’s Letters,
vol. iii. p. 195, 196, 197.

Frederick III. in his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*,
has mentioned the following particulars relative to the ani-
mosity which subsisted between his father and his uncle. He
says, that ‘Frederick William and George II. though bro-
‘thers-in-law, and in a manner brought up together, could
‘never endure each other, even when children. This per-

CHAP. I. ' buttons were made to serve again [c]. It was in
 A. D. ' this dress that his majesty, armed with a huge
 1728: ' serjeant's cane, marched forth every day to re-

' sonal hatred, and settled antipathy, had like to have proved
 ' fatal to their subjects. The king of England used to stile
 ' the king of Prussia, *my brother the serjeant*; and the king
 ' of Prussia the king of England, *my brother the player*. This
 ' animosity soon infected their dealings, and did not fail to
 ' have its influence on the most important events.' Vol. II.
 p. 69, 70.

[c] The author of the "History of Prussia, during the
 " reign of Frederick William," says, " He detested luxury
 " in dress and furniture, and would not lie in a chamber
 " hung with tapestry. He wore only a coat of coarse blue
 " cloth, with gilt copper buttons, a straw-coloured waist-
 " coat with a single gold lace, and straw-coloured breeches
 " also, except in summer, when he wore linen ones. He
 " wore only white spatterdashes, which were fastened with
 " small copper buttons, by the help of a little iron hook,
 " with which they were forcibly drawn till they came into
 " the button holes. His shoes were strong, and durable,
 " with high heels and square toes. His hat had only a plain
 " narrow gold lace, and little button without a loop, and a
 " band of gold twist about it, from which a small golden
 " tassel hung down on each side of the hat. The grasp of
 " his sword was of silver wire, the guard and shell of gilt
 " copper, the blade large, long, and heavy, and the whole
 " hung by an elk skin belt, whitened with chalk." P. 81,
 82.

The same writer says, in another place, that Frederick
 William ' was such a lover of oeconomy, that he established
 ' a professor at Hall to teach it publicly; and believed, that
 ' a state wanted nothing but oeconomy and troops to make
 ' it flourish.' P. 525.

' view

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view his regiment of giants. These giants were
his greatest delight, and the things for which he
went to the heaviest expence. The men who stood
in the first rank of this regiment, were none of
them less than seven feet high; and he sent to
purchase them from the farther parts of Europe
to the borders of Asia. I have seen some of them
since his death *.

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A. D.
1728.

It is said of FREDERICK WILLIAM by his son,
that he left behind him an army of sixty-six thou-
sand men, whom his great oeconomy enabled
him to maintain; his finances increased; the pub-
lic treasure full; and the most surprizing order in
all his affairs. If one may truly say, that it is to
the acorn, from which it sprung, we are indebted
for the shade of the oak, the whole world must
allow, that it is in the labours and wisdom of
this prince, we must look for the sources of that
prosperity which the royal house has enjoyed since
his death? But though Frederick William,
agreeably to his son's account of him, was in sun-
dry respects an able and a politic prince, yet his
temper was violent and arbitrary, and his man-
ners were often extremely rough, and approaching

* Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, written by himself,
translated from the French, Lond. 8vo. 1785. p. 17, 18.

* Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, ut supra,
p. 109, 110.

even

CHAP. I. even to brutality [D]. Voltaire says, that he was
A. D. ' an absolute Vandal, who thought of no other
1728. thing,

[D] His temper and manners seem to have been variable; and there is a great contrariety in the accounts given of him by different writers. Baron Pollnitz, in a letter from Berlin, dated June 6, 1729, says, ' I had the honour to see the king, who was then seeing his soldiers mount guard. He is a prince of a middling stature, and in very good plight of body. His air commands respect; yet, when he pleases, no prince in the world can be more gracious. I heard him speak to his officers in such a kind manner, as could not but charm them. I admired his genius for military discipline; and perceived, that, with the glance of an eye, he could discover the least fault committed against that wonderful exactness, which is introduced in the evolutions of his troops. After the guards had performed their exercise, the king stayed to see them file off. I never yet saw troops march with more order and state, so that it seemed as if they were all moved by one spring. All the soldiers are young, of an even stature, and the cleverest fellows that nature ever formed. They are well clothed, and have such an air of neatness, that even the private centinels might all pass for officers.'

The same writer also says, ' The ministers of most consequence at this court are Messieurs d'Ilgen, Grumkau, and Kniphausen. These are they who treat of foreign affairs, and through whose hands pass the secrets of state: but the king's prime minister is the king himself, who is informed of every thing, and is desirous to know every thing. He gives great application to business, but does it with extraordinary ease; and nothing escapes his penetration, nor his memory, which is a very happy one. No one knows better than he where his government is strong, and where it is weak; and no sovereign in the world is of more easy access,

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‘ thing, during his whole reign, than amassing of
‘ money, and maintaining, at the least possible
‘ expence,

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‘ access, his subjects being actually permitted to write to
‘ him, without any other formality than superscribing the
‘ letter, *To the King*. By writing underneath, *To be deli-*
‘ *vered into his Majesty's own hands*, one may be sure that the
‘ king receives and reads it, and that the next post he will
‘ answer it, either with his own hand, or by his secretary.
‘ These answers are short, but peremptory; and they pre-
‘ vent a tedious, painful attendance. The king, who is an
‘ enemy to vain pomp and pageantry, always goes abroad
‘ without guards, with only a small retinue, and sometimes
‘ too walks on foot. He makes his greatness to consist in
‘ solid power, in the having his troops well disciplined, his
‘ places kept up in good order, his arsenals well provided,
‘ and his treasury full enough to enable him to oppose his
‘ enemy, in case he be attacked.
‘ There is no town in all the king of Prussia's dominions,
‘ except Neufchatel, where he has not been; no province
‘ which he does not know full well; not a noble family but
‘ he can tell their revenues; nor a court of justice but he is
‘ well acquainted with their chief members.—His diversion
‘ is hunting; and for this reason, he resides constantly at
‘ Potsdam, or Wusterhausen, which are pleasure-houses four
‘ miles from Berlin. Yet he generally goes on Saturdays
‘ into his capital, where he holds a council on Sunday, and
‘ returns on Monday. In the winter he makes a longer stay
‘ at Berlin: but let him be either here or there, he is on the
‘ parade every day at ten o'clock, when his soldiers mount
‘ guard; after which he gives audience to his ministers, and
‘ holds a council, or goes abroad for the air. At noon, the
‘ king appears in a great saloon, where are all the generals
‘ and officers, the foreign ministers, and all the court in ge-
‘ neral. There he converses a few moments, and then goes

‘ into

CHAP. I. expence, the finest soldiers in Europe. Never
 A. D. were subjects poorer, or king more rich. He
 1728. bought

‘ into another room, where he dines with the queen, the
 ‘ princes and princesses of his family, and any other person
 ‘ whom he has caused to be invited. His table is commonly
 ‘ spread for eighteen guests. After he has sat about an hour
 ‘ and half at table, he retires to his closet till six at night,
 ‘ when he appears again in the room where he held his levee.
 ‘ There his majesty gives orders to the mareschal Wartenleben,
 ‘ governor of Berlin, and to the mareschal Natzmer, com-
 ‘ mandant of the gens d’arms. After this, he talks a while
 ‘ with those that are present, and then passes into a room at
 ‘ some distance from his apartment, to which the queen re-
 ‘ pairs sometimes with one or two ladies in company. There
 ‘ are ten or a dozen officers, whom the king honours with
 ‘ his confidence, who play here at picquet, ombre, and back-
 ‘ gammon. Here they also smoke; and to this place the
 ‘ king sends for such as he has a mind to talk with about
 ‘ special affairs. I have been there twice upon such an ac-
 ‘ count. Here is no manner of restraint, but every body sits
 ‘ down, the king dispensing with all the respect that is due
 ‘ to him, and, at eleven o’clock he dismisses the company,
 ‘ and retires.’ *Pollnitz’s Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 23, 34, 35,
 36, 37.

Another writer informs us, that in the middle of a refer-
 voir of water, at Potsdam, is a little building erected by
 Frederick William, ‘ who used to hold his councils of war
 ‘ in it, and seldom failed to repair thither every evening, to
 ‘ drink beer, and smoke a pipe with his generals. On those
 ‘ occasions a kind of supper was served up of salt beef, ham,
 ‘ and Brunswick sausages.’ *Observations on the military Esta-
 blishment of the King of Prussia*, p. 36.

Baron Bielfeld says of Frederick William, that he was
 ‘ of a disposition hasty and violent, liable to be offended by
 ‘ the

'bought up, at a despicable price, the estates of a
'great part of the nobility; who soon devoured
'the

CHAP. I.
A. D.
1728.

'the most innocent actions; and the first motions of his wrath
'were sometimes highly dangerous. He had, in general,
'no affection either for the polite courtier, or the man of
'letters.' *Letters*, vol. III. p. 121.

His son says of him, in his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburgh*, that 'he exerted himself to regulate his finances,
'the police, the courts of justice, and the army; depart-
'ments which had been equally neglected under the preceding
'reign. He enjoyed an active mind in a vigorous body.
'There never lived a man so capable of entering into every
'branch of business; but then, if he stooped to little things,
'it was from a persuasion, that great things are only the
'combination of many little ones. He referred his under-
'takings to one general plan of policy, which he had formed
'to himself; and, in labouring to bring every part to the
'utmost perfection of which it was capable, he only labour-
'ed to perfect the whole.

'He abolished all useless expences, and stopped those ca-
'nals of profusion, through which his father had misapplied
'the resources furnished him by the prosperity of his sub-
'jects, to vain and idle purposes. The court was the first
'to feel the effects of this reformation. He retained but a
'few persons essential to his dignity, or useful to the state.
'Of one hundred chamberlains, in the service of his father,
'he kept but twelve: the rest took to the army, or the ca-
'binet. He reduced his private expences to a very moderate
'sum, saying, that a prince ought to be sparing of the blood
'and substance of his subjects. In this respect, he might
'well be considered as a philosopher on the throne, and
'quite the reverse of those great scholars, who make all their
'barren knowledge consist in the speculation of such ab-
'stract matters as seem to elude our inquiries. He himself
'gave

CHAP. I. ' the little money they got for them ; above half
 A. D. ' of which returned to the royal coffers, by means
 1728.

' of the duties upon consumption. All the king's
 ' lands were farmed out to tax-gatherers, who held
 ' the double office of exciseman and judge ; inso-
 ' much, that if a landed tenant did not pay this
 ' collector upon the very day appointed, he put on
 ' his judge's robe, and condemned the delinquent
 ' in double the sum. It must be observed, that
 ' if this same exciseman and judge did not pay
 ' the king by the last day of the month, the day
 ' following he was himself obliged to pay double
 ' to the king. Did a man kill a hare, or lop a
 ' tree, any where near the royal domains, or com-
 ' mit any other peccadillo ? he was instantly con-
 ' demned to pay a fine.'—' It was by such means
 ' only, that he could, in a reign of twenty-eight
 ' years, load the cellars of his palace at Berlin with
 ' a hundred and twenty millions of crowns (fifteen
 ' millions sterling,) all well casked up in barrels,
 ' hooped with iron ¹⁰.'

FREDERICK WILLIAM had little acquaintance
 with literature or the sciences, nor did they receive

' gave examples of a frugality and austerity, worthy of the
 ' earliest periods of the Roman republic.—Averse to pomp
 ' and parade, and all the imperious trappings of royalty,
 ' he, with a virtue which might do honour to a Stoic, de-
 ' nied himself the most common conveniences of life.'
 Vol. II. p. 3, 4.

¹⁰ Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, ut supra, p. 11, 12,
 13, 16.

from

from him much countenance or encouragement [E]. CHAP. I.
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But his son, the prince royal, notwithstanding the

little

[E] Voltaire represents Frederick William as totally averse to every kind of literature; and asserts, that if he caught the prince-royal "with a book in his hand, he threw it in the fire; or playing on the flute, he broke his instrument." He also says, "We may easily imagine, what would be the astonishment and vexation of a Vandal, like this, to find that he had a son endowed with wit, grace, and good breeding; who delighted to please, was eager in the acquisition of knowledge, and who made verses, and afterwards set them to music." That Frederick William was a great enemy to music, is a fact that seems sufficiently established; but that he had such a total aversion to all kinds of literature, as is here stated, may possibly be doubted. Indeed, Voltaire's account of this prince seems to be, in some respects, rather a caricature than a just portrait. Another writer, however, tells us, that "he despised astronomy, and all the abstracted sciences in general; probably for want of knowing the relation the different sorts of sciences have to each other." *Hist. of Prussia*, p. 525. But from the patronage which he gave to the celebrated John Philip Barretier, of whom an account was published in French by M. Formey, and in English by Dr. Johnson, it may be presumed, that he had not an equal aversion to every branch of literature. Dr. Johnson says, that when Barretier, then about fifteen years of age, arrived at Berlin, "the king ordered him to be brought into his presence, and was so much pleased with his conversation, that he sent for him almost every day during his stay at Berlin; and diverted himself with engaging him in conversations upon a multitude of subjects, and in disputes with learned men: on all which occasions he acquitted himself so happily, that the king formed the highest ideas of his capacity and future

CHAP. I. little care that had been taken of his education;
 A. D. very early discovered a strong propensity to liter-
 1728. ary pursuits, and also a great fondness for music,
 to which the king his father had an extreme aver-
 sion. The baron de Pollnitz, in a letter dated

“ture eminence. And thinking, perhaps with reason, that
 “active life was the noblest sphere of a great genius, he
 “recommended to him the study of modern history, the
 “customs of nations, and those parts of learning that are
 “of use in public transactions and civil employments, de-
 “claring, that such abilities, properly cultivated, might
 “exalt him in ten years to be the greatest minister of state
 “in Europe.” *Life of Barretier*, p. 17, 18. edit. 1744.

It is observable, that the account given of Frederick Wil-
 liam by Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis XV.* is very different
 from that given by him in the *Memoirs of his own Life*. In
 the former he says, that Prussia was no better than an exten-
 sive desert, at the accession of Frederick William; but that
 he, “being possessed of talents superior to those of his con-
 “temporaries, expended about twenty-five millions of livres,
 “in clearing the lands, building villages, and peopling
 “them; he invited families from Suabia and Franconia;
 “and brought 16,000 emigrants from Saltzbourg to settle
 “in his territories, furnishing them with necessaries of all
 “sorts. While he was thus busied in establishing a new
 “kingdom, by singular oeconomy, he became master of
 “another species of power; every month he laid up in re-
 “serve 40,000 crowns, which in a reign of twenty years,
 “amounted to an immense sum of money. What money
 “was not sent to the treasury, was employed in raising an
 “army of seventy thousand choice men, whom he disci-
 “plined himself, but never employed.” *Voltaire's Works*,
 translated from the French, vol. XXXVII. p. 50, 51,
 edit. 12mo. 1774.

June 6, 1729, says of him, "This young prince CHAP. I.
A. D.
1729.
"is handsome, charms every one by his kindness
"and good-nature, and loves reading, music, the
"arts, and magnificence [F]." It appears to have
been the year before this, that he began to learn
to play on the German flute. Dr. Burney informs
us, that in 1728, he was taught to play on that in-
strument by the celebrated Quantz. On this ac-
count, says that ingenious writer, Quantz "was
"obliged to go twice a year to Berlin, Ruppin,
"or Rheinsberg, the several residences of his royal
"scholar." The prince, however, had been for-
bidden by his father not only to study and practise
music, but even to hear it. But he was encou-
raged in his taste for music by the queen his mo-
ther. Dr. Burney says, "M. Quantz told me,
"that it was the late queen-mother, who at this
"time encouraged the prince in his favourite amuse-
"ment, and who engaged musicians for his ser-
"vice; but so necessary was secrecy in all these
"negociations, that if the king his father had dis-

[F] The baron has another passage respecting the prince-
royal, which shews him not to have been endued with a pro-
phetic spirit. "His sentiments," says he, "his behaviour,
"and his actions, make it probable, that if he comes to the
"crown, his reign will be one of those *mild* and *peaceable*
"reigns, which procure kings the love of their people,
"wherein consists their true glory." *Memoirs*, vol. I. p. 27.

"Present state of Music in Germany, the Netherlands,
&c. vol. II. p. 194. second edition.

CHAP. I. " covered that he was disobeyed, all these sons of
 A. D. " Apollo would have incurred the danger of being
 1730. " hanged. The prince frequently took occasion
 " to meet his musicians a hunting, and had his
 " concerts either in a forest or cavern ".

WHETHER it was the discouragement that he received from his father on account of his love of literature and music, or whether it proceeded from any other cause, it is certain, that, in the year 1730, the prince royal of Prussia resolved to quit his father's dominions privately, and to travel either into France or England. [G]. He was to have been accom-

" Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands, &c. vol. II. p. 139.

[G] Voltaire, after speaking of the rigorous treatment which the prince received from the king, says, that the former, ' weary of the attentions of so kind a father, determined ' one fine morning, in 1730, to elope, without well knowing whether he would fly to France or England. Paternal ' oeconomy had deprived him of the power of travelling in ' the style of son and heir to a farmer-general, or even an ' English tradesman, and he was obliged to borrow a few ' hundred ducats. Two young gentlemen, both very amiable, one named Katte, the other Keite, were to accompany him. Katte was the only son of a brave general officer, and Keite had married the daughter of the baroness of Kniphausen.—The day and hour were appointed; the ' father was informed of the whole affair; and the prince, ' and his two travelling companions, were all three put under ' an arrest.' *Memoirs*, p. 21, 22, 23.

Dr.

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

19

accompanied by three officers, to whom he had communicated his project. But his design being discovered, the execution of it was prevented; and the officers, who had joined with him in the scheme, were prosecuted with great severity. Of the manner of the proceedings against them, the accounts are somewhat different. One writer says, that 'his Prussian majesty appointed a council of war, to inquire into the conduct of these officers, which assembled at Koppenick, a small town near Berlin. One of these officers was cashiered, and condemned to three years imprisonment; another,

CHAP. I.
A. D.
1730.

Dr. Johnson says, that 'it is generally believed, that the prince's intention was to come to England, and live under the protection of his uncle, till his father's death, or change of conduct, should give him liberty to return.' *Memoirs of the King of Prussia, written in 1756, and printed in Davies's collection of Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces, p. 97.*

To the account before given, Voltaire adds, 'The king believed at first, that the princess Wilhelmina, his daughter, who was afterwards married to the Prince Margrave of Bareith, was concerned in the plot: and as he was remarkable for dispatch in the executive branch of justice, he proceeded to kick her out of a large window, which opened from the floor to the cieling. The queen-mother, who was present at this exploit, with great difficulty saved her, by catching hold of her petticoats, at the moment she was making her leap. The princess received a contusion on her left breast, which remained with her during life, as a mark of paternal affection, and which she did me the honour to shew me.' *Memoirs, p. 23, 24.*

CHAP. I. ' being retired into foreign countries [H], was out-
 A. D. ' lawed; but the votes were divided with regard to
 1730. ' young Katte, part of the judges finding him guilty
 ' of death, and the others being of a contrary opi-
 ' nion; so that they were obliged to leave the de-
 ' cision of it to the king ¹³.' Dr. Johnson says, that
 Katte ' was ordered to be tried for a capital crime.
 ' The court examined the cause, and acquitted
 ' him; the king remanded him to a second trial,
 ' and obliged his judges to condemn him ¹⁴.' What-
 ever might be the mode of the proceedings against
 them, it is certain that Katte, who was a young
 lieutenant in the gens d'arms, was ordered by Fre-
 derick William to be beheaded. But as his of-
 fence was certainly not of a very heinous kind,
 he naturally entertained hopes of obtaining a par-
 don; and accordingly wrote a letter to the king in
 the German language, of which the following is a
 translation:

' Sire,

' It is neither to justify myself, nor to excuse
 ' my past conduct, nor to prove my innocence,

[H] Voltaire, who mentions only two officers as being con-
 cerned in this transaction, says, that Keite ' fled into Hol-
 ' land, whither the king dispatched his military messengers
 ' to seize him. He escaped merely by a minute, embarked
 ' for Portugal, and there remained till the death of the most
 ' clement Frederick William.' *Memoirs, ut supra*, p. 27.

¹³ History of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick Wil-
 liam, *ut supra*, p. 420, 421.

¹⁴ Memoirs of the King of Prussia, p. 98.

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

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‘ that I have the honour to address this letter to CHAP. I.
 ‘ your majesty; but, moved by a sincere repentance, A. D.
 ‘ and hearty sorrow, for having offended you, I 1730.
 ‘ implore your clemency, and most humbly beseech
 ‘ you, sire, to have some consideration for my age;
 ‘ which makes me more capable of imprudence
 ‘ and folly, than of any bad design: and, perhaps,
 ‘ my inconsiderate zeal has been the only cause of
 ‘ my crime.

‘ God, who is the King of kings, and Lord of
 ‘ lords, does not always follow the impulses of his
 ‘ justice towards sinners; but often reclaims those,
 ‘ who have gone astray, by his mercy. And will
 ‘ not your majesty, sire, who are a resemblance of
 ‘ the Divinity, pardon a criminal, who is guilty
 ‘ of disobedience to his sovereign? The hope of
 ‘ pardon supports me; and I flatter myself, that
 ‘ your majesty will not cut me off in the flower of
 ‘ my age, but rather give me time to prove to
 ‘ you, what effect your majesty’s clemency will
 ‘ have on me. I feel myself animated with a zeal
 ‘ and fidelity, proof against all temptations, for
 ‘ your service.

‘ Will not a sincere acknowledgment of my fault
 ‘ be able to procure my pardon? Yes, sire, I own
 ‘ I am very guilty. And will not your majesty
 ‘ grant me a pardon, which God never refuses to
 ‘ the greatest sinner, who sincerely confesses his sins
 ‘ to him? Saul was guilty of disobedience to God,
 ‘ David fell into various sins, and Manasses was

CHAP. I. 'immerfed in the moft heinous crimes; and yet
 A. D. 'they are nevertheless fo many examples of God's
 1730. 'mercy to thofe who repent.

'I fhall be always ready to fhed even the laft
 'drop of my blood, to fhew your majefty, what
 'faithful and grateful sentiments your clemency
 'can raife in me; and fhall willingly facrifice a life
 'in your fervice, which I fhall be indebted to you
 'for, and which I fhall only hold from you. Cha-
 'rity, fire, and the compaffion of God, which af-
 'fures me he will not refuse me his pardon, do not
 'fuffer me to despair of your majefty's being pleafed
 'to lend an ear to the moft humble fupplication
 'of a fubject, who has rebelled, but who has been
 'brought back to his duty by a fincere repen-
 'tance ¹⁵.'

THIS letter of the amiable, but unfortunate
 young lieutenant, made no impreffion on the un-
 feeling Frederick William. Applications were af-
 terwards made to the king in his favour, by per-
 fons of the firft quality, but without any effect.
 Lieutenant Katte was beheaded in the beginning
 of the month of November, 1730, and died with
 great refolution ¹⁶. The prince-royal himfelf was
 confined in the citadel of Cufttrin [1]; and it was
 at

¹⁵ History of Pruffia, during the reign of Frederick Wil-
 liam, p. 421, 422. ¹⁶ Ibid. p. 426.

[1] Voltaire fays, that 'the king fent him to the citadel
 'of Cufttrin, which was fituated in the midft of a marfh.

at this place that Katte was beheaded, the prince being compelled to be a spectator of the execution [κ]. The unfortunate officer appears to have had a very pious education, and to have been possessed of excellent qualities; and Dr. Johnson says, that he left 'behind him some papers of reflexions made in the prison, which were afterwards printed; and, among others, an admonition to the prince for whose sake he suffered, not to foster in himself the opinion of destiny, for that a providence is discoverable in every thing round us'.¹⁷

CHAP. I.
A. D.
1730.

'Here he was shut up, without a single servant, for the space of six months, in a sort of dungeon, at the end of which time he was allowed a soldier as an attendant.' *Memoirs*, p. 25. The soldier who attended him, whose name was FREDERSTORF, was afterwards taken into his service, and became his valet de chambre, and favourite.

[κ] The author of the *History of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William*, informs us, that the sentence was 'executed in the sight of the prince-royal, who could not forbear shedding tears, at this young gentleman's untimely fate.' But Voltaire says farther, that 'the prince had been some weeks in his palace at Custrin, when one day an old officer, followed by four grenadiers, entered his chamber, weeping. Frederick had no doubt he was going to be made a head shorter; but the officer, still in tears, ordered the grenadiers to take him to the window, and hold his head out of it, that he might be obliged to look on the execution of his friend Katte, upon a scaffold expressly built there for that purpose. He saw, stretched out his hand, and fainted. The father was present at this exhibition.' *Memoirs*, p. 26, 27.

¹⁷ *Memoirs of the King of Prussia*, p. 98.

CHAP. I. FREDERICK WILLIAM was so much exasperated
 A. D. at the design of his son to quit his dominions,
 1730. that, not content with the execution of Katte, he
 is said to have intended to put the prince himself
 to death [L]. The emperor of Germany, how-
 ever,

[L] Voltaire informs us, that the king's ' design was, to
 ' have beheaded the prince. He considered, that he had
 ' three other sons, not one of whom wrote verses, and that
 ' they were sufficient to sustain the Prussian grandeur. Mea-
 ' sures had been already concerted to make him suffer, as the
 ' czarowitz, eldest son to Peter the great, had suffered be-
 ' fore. It is not exceedingly clear, from any known laws,
 ' human or divine, that a young man should have his head
 ' struck off, because he had a wish to travel. But his ma-
 ' jesty had found judges in Prussia, equally as learned and
 ' equitable as the Russian expounders of law. Besides that
 ' his own paternal authority, in a case of need, would at any
 ' time suffice. The emperor Charles the Sixth, however,
 ' pretended, that the prince royal, as a prince of the empire,
 ' could not suffer condemnation but in a full diet; and sent
 ' the count de Seckendorff to the father, in order to make
 ' very serious remonstrances on that subject. The count de
 ' Seckendorff, whom I have since known in Saxony, where
 ' he lives retired, has declared to me, it was with very great
 ' difficulty indeed, that he could prevail with the king not
 ' to behead the prince. This is the same Seckendorff, who
 ' has commanded the armies of Bavaria, and of whom the
 ' prince, when he came to the throne, drew a hideous por-
 ' trait, in the history of his father, which he inserted in
 ' some thirty copies of his *Memoires de Brandebourg*. Who
 ' would not, after this, serve princes, and prevent tyrants
 ' from cutting off their heads?' *Memoirs*, p. 30.

ever, interposed in his favour; and, by degrees, the wrath of his Prussian majesty was somewhat abated. But about the same time that a discovery was made of the prince's intended elopement, intelligence was also communicated to the king of an intrigue, or supposed intrigue, between the prince and a young lady at Potsdam. According to Voltaire's account, she was the daughter of a school-master, and had a taste for music. Frederick William ordered her to be seized, and publicly whipped through the streets of Berlin [M]; and of this cere-

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The character of count Seckendorff, as it now stands in the *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, is as follows: 'George II. had scarcely ascended the British throne, when 'count Seckendorff came to Berlin. This man served, at 'one and the same time, in the Imperial and Saxon troops; 'to the most sordid interestedness, he united the coarsest and 'most rustic manners; he was by habit so enured to lying, 'as to have lost all sense of truth. His soul was that of an 'usurer, sometimes animating the body of a soldier, and 'sometimes that of a negociator. This man, however, providence thought fit to employ to break the treaty of Hanover.' Vol. II, p. 70. If Seckendorff really rendered to the prince-royal of Prussia, the important service which Voltaire has stated, he certainly has not shewn a very grateful remembrance of it in the character which he has given of him. But it has been asserted, as has been before observed in the text, that Seckendorff was suspected of having fomented the misunderstanding between the prince-royal and his father. *Vid. History of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William*, p. 420.

[M] According to the representation given by Voltaire, the prince-royal, when he afterwards came to the throne, did

CHAP. I. ceremony the prince himself was compelled to be
 A. D. a spectator. The king himself also attended on
 1730. the occasion ¹⁸.

AFTER the prince-royal had been some time closely confined at Custrin, the king was prevailed upon, partly by the intreaties of the queen, to allow him greater liberty, and to send to him a notification of his pardon [N]. It was, however, still

did not behave very liberally to the unfortunate female who had suffered thus publicly on his account. He says, that Frederick allowed her a pension of seventy crowns a year, and that she married the clerk of the Hackney-coach-office at Berlin. *Memoirs*, p. 98.

¹⁸ *Memoirs of Voltaire*, p. 24, 25.

[N] The writer of the *History of Prussia*, during the reign of Frederick William, says, that ‘the lieutenant-generals Grumkow, Borck, and Boden, the major-generals Bodenbroeck and Glasenap, and the colonels Derschau and Waldau, with M. Thulemeyer, privy counsellor of state, went to Custrin, and notified to the prince-royal, that the king, out of a paternal motive, and regard to the most moving letter of intercession, which the emperor had wrote to him with his own hand, was pleased to pardon him; and they afterwards declared to the prince his majesty’s orders. The prince-royal received them with submission, and expressed great joy on being received into favour again by the king his father; and took from the hands of M. Thulemeyer a copy of the *new oath*, which he was to examine, and keep by him twenty-four hours, according to his majesty’s orders. The Sunday following, his royal highness was conducted by the commissioners into president Muncho’s apartment, where lieutenant-general Lopel, in the king’s name, returned him his sword, and they fixed the cross of the
 ‘ order

still required of him, that he should continue to reside at Custrin [o]; but a magnificent house was furnished for him there; and it is said, that he "was present at all the conferences of the regency and chamber of the New March, to inform himself thoroughly of the affairs of the interior country"¹⁹. But on the 15th of August, 1731, the king went himself in person to Custrin, in order to have an interview with his son, and to be formally reconciled to him. He was accompanied by general Grumkow; and, on his arrival at Custrin; he alighted at the house of major-general Lopel, governor of the place. He sent for the prince-royal, who immediately came, and threw

CHAP. I.
A. D.
1731.

order on his clothes. M. Thulemeyer, after this, read the oath with a loud voice, which the prince, who knew it by heart, repeated very distinctly, word for word, and signed with his own hand; and, as soon as this was done, they dispatched a courier to the king, and then went to church to return thanks to God, which the prince did with great devotion and humility.' P. 426, 427.

[o] Count Hertzberg informs us, that at Custrin the prince "was obliged to labour in the Chamber of Finances, as a Counsellor of war, which was in its consequences very beneficial to him." *Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année de la vie de Frederick*, &c. p. 11. During his residence at Custrin, he also corresponded with general Grumkow on affairs of government; and count Hertzberg says, that a very interesting volume of letters, which passed between the prince and the general at that period, is still preserved. *Ibid.*

¹⁹ History of Prussia, p. 427.

him-

CHAP. I. himself at his father's feet. "The king," we are
 A. D. told, "raised the prince up, and conversed with
 1731. "him, for near an hour, with a truly paternal ten-
 "derness, after which his majesty went with his
 "royal highness into the hall, where the nobility
 "and regency were assembled. The prince-royal,
 "at parting with the king, conducted him to his
 "coach, renewed his submissions, and wished his
 "majesty a long life and happy reign; who assured
 "him of his whole affection, and embraced him
 "with great tenderness ²⁰." He afterwards went
 privately to Berlin, where he had an affectionate in-
 terview with the queen his mother [P].

²⁰ History of Prussia, p. 428.

[P] We are informed, that some time after his interview
 with his father, 'as they were celebrating, at Berlin, the
 'nuptials of the prince of Brandenburg-Bareith, who had
 'married the princess-royal of Prussia, the prince-royal came
 'thither *incognito* from Custrin, and entered into the apart-
 'ment, where they were keeping the festival, without any
 'body's knowing him; the clothes he had on giving him
 'another air than what he had formerly; and being, be-
 'sides, grown very much during his stay at Custrin. The
 'queen herself did not know him, till the dear prince came
 'and embraced her, with equal transports of joy and re-
 'spect.' *Hist. of Prussia*, p. 428. Voltaire says, that the
 prince was confined at Custrin eighteen months. *Memoirs*,
 p. 30.

CHAP. II.

The prince-royal of Prussia, after his reconciliation with his father, applies himself closely to his studies.

—His marriage.—Accompanies his father in a journey to the imperial camp.—Corresponds with Voltaire.—Makes a tour to Holland.—Becomes a freemason.—Baron Bielfeld's description of his person and manners.—Account of his court at Rheinsberg, and character of his wife, the princess royal.—The prince patronizes men of letters, and professors of the fine arts.—His correspondence with M. Subm, envoy from the court of Dresden to the courts of Berlin and Petersburg.

AFTER the prince-royal of Prussia was in some degree restored to the favour of his father, he seems chiefly to have resided at Rheinsberg. He appears, however, still to have been under some kind of discountenance, and did not frequently appear at court. But this was eventually no disadvantage to him, as it led him to apply himself more assiduously to his studies: a circumstance to which he was probably indebted for much of his future greatness [Q]. Polite literature,

CHAP. II.
A. D.
1732.

[Q] Dr. Johnson observes, that 'the studies of princes seldom produce great effects, for princes draw with meaner mortals the lot of understanding; and since of many students not more than one can be hoped to advance far towards perfection, it is scarcely to be expected that we should find that

CHAP. II. ture, the mathematics, and music, were diligently
 A. D. cultivated by him; and his general conduct at this
 1733. period appears to have been very amiable. But
 on the 12th of June, 1733²¹, he was compelled
 by his father to marry Elizabeth Christina, prin-
 cess of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele, niece to the em-
 press of Germany. To this marriage he was so
 averse, that though he submitted to the ceremony,
 he refused to cohabit with the princess, and adhered
 to that resolution to the end of his life.

A. D. IN 1734, the king of Prussia having ordered
 1734. 10,000 of his troops to march to the Rhine, to
 act in favour of the emperor against the French,

‘ that one a prince; that the desire of science should over-
 ‘ power in any mind the love of pleasure, when it is always
 ‘ present, or always within call; that laborious meditation
 ‘ should be preferred in the days of youth to amusements and
 ‘ festivity; or that perseverance should press forward in con-
 ‘ tempt of flattery; and that he in whom moderate acqui-
 ‘ sitions would be extolled as prodigies, should exact from
 ‘ himself that excellence of which the whole world conspires
 ‘ to save him the necessity. In every great performance,
 ‘ perhaps in every great character, part is the effect of na-
 ‘ ture, part the contribution of accident, and part, very
 ‘ often not the greatest part, the effect of voluntary election,
 ‘ and regular design. The king of Prussia was undoubtedly
 ‘ born with more than common abilities; but that he culti-
 ‘ vated them with more than common diligence, was proba-
 ‘ bly the effect of his peculiar condition, of that which he
 ‘ then considered as cruelty and misfortune.’ *Memoirs of*
the King of Prussia, ut supra, p. 99, 100.

²¹ *History of Prussia, p. 475.*

he repaired himself to the imperial camp, accom-
 panied by the prince-royal. His design was, to
 take a view of the army, and to attend to the ope-
 rations of prince Eugene, who commanded the
 army of the emperor. But they had not an op-
 portunity of seeing any great display of the mili-
 tary talents of that illustrious general. He was
 now far advanced in years; and seemed unwilling
 to hazard, by a doubtful action, the great repu-
 tation that he had acquired. Philipsburg was taken
 by the French; and they were so ably commanded,
 first by the duke of Berwick, and after his death
 by marshal D'Asfeld, that the campaign terminated,
 without prince Eugene being able to obtain any
 advantage over them.

AFTER his return, the prince-royal continued
 to apply himself closely to his studies at Rheinf-
 berg [R], where several men of letters paid their
 court

[R] The following description is given of RHEINSBERG,
 by baron Bielsfeld, in a letter dated October 30, 1739.
 ' This is a small, but very pleasing city, although situated
 ' in a most barren sand, on the frontiers of Mecklenbourg.
 ' It contains about a thousand inhabitants, and was formerly
 ' the property of a French refugee gentleman. The king has
 ' purchased it, and given it to the prince-royal, with the
 ' castle, the gardens, the forests, and some lands that are de-
 ' pendent on it. The castle was, in a manner, in ruins,
 ' and there was scarcely any garden, when the prince ob-
 ' tained the gift; and which is the more valuable to him, as
 ' his regiment is in garrison at Ruppın, which is but six
 ' miles from hence, and in this country the garrisons never
 ' change.

CHAP. II.

A. D.

1734.

CHAP. II. court to him. But their attendance there was far
 A. D. from being pleasing to the king. 'He appre-
 1734- hended,'

'change. The situation of the castle itself is very fine. An
 'immense lake bathes almost its foundations; and, on the
 'opposite side, a beautiful forest of oaks and beech rises in
 'form of an amphitheatre. The antient building consisted
 'of only one range of rooms, with a wing terminated by an
 'old tower. This edifice, and its situation, gave to the
 'prince-royal an opportunity of displaying his genius and
 'his taste; and to baron Knobelsdorff, intendant of the build-
 'ings, his talent for architecture. The main body was re-
 'paired, and embellished externally with arched windows,
 'and very elegant statues and ornaments; another wing and
 'tower are added, which correspond with the old ones; and
 'the two towers are connected by a double colonnade, on
 'the platform of which is a gallery of communication, that
 'is ornamented with vases and groups of infants. By this
 'arrangement the whole building now forms an exact square.
 'We are led to it by a bridge decorated with statues, repre-
 'senting the seven planets, and which each holds in his hand
 'a lamp in form of a globe. To enter the inner court, we
 'pass under a noble portal, over which is the following in-
 'scription, engraved by order of M. Knobelsdorff, *Frederico*
 '*Franquillitatem colenti*. The inside of this palace still ex-
 'cells the outside, as well in the beauty and distribution of
 'the apartments, as in the taste and richness of the furni-
 'ture. Which way soever the eye turns, it is struck with a
 'profusion of gilding and carving: all these ornaments,
 'however, are disposed with judgment and reserve, and the
 'designs are highly admirable. As the prince admires the
 'tender colours only, there are several apartments furnished
 'in gridelin, sea green, and flesh colour, the mouldings and
 'ornaments of which are of silver. All these form a very
 'pleasing diversity, and give this palace an air equally gay
 'and

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‘hended,’ says baron Bielfeld, ‘that their conver-
 ‘versation tended to promote that predominant

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1735.

‘and noble. The most elegant apartment, which is not yet
 ‘finished, but on which they are incessantly labouring, is a
 ‘superb hall, completely lined with factitious marble, and
 ‘ornamented with mirrours and bronzes. The celebrated
 ‘Pefne is now engaged in painting the cieling; it represents
 ‘the rising of the sun; on one side, night covered with her
 ‘veils, surrounded by her gloomy birds, and followed by
 ‘the hours, retires, and makes room for Aurora, who is re-
 ‘presented under the figure of Venus, is attended by the
 ‘morning star, and occupies the center of the piece: we
 ‘next see the white horses that draw the chariot of Apollo,
 ‘and the rays of that god just appear. This subject is alle-
 ‘goric, and seems to allude to an epoch that, perhaps, is
 ‘not far distant.’

‘The gardens of Rheinsberg, which extend the length of
 ‘the whole lake, are not yet arrived to maturity; for it is
 ‘but a few years since their commencement. The plan is
 ‘great and beautiful; time must do the rest. The principal
 ‘alley is terminated by an obelisk covered with Egyptian hiero-
 ‘glyphics. There are delightful groves, and verdant sa-
 ‘loons and bowers, very happily disposed. The prince is
 ‘building a superb orangery, in a taste perfectly new, after
 ‘the design of Mr. Knobelsdorff. The ground is also laying
 ‘out for planting, the next year, a labyrinth, which is to
 ‘lead to the temple of Bacchus, placed in the center. Twelve
 ‘satyrs, of gigantic stature, serve for columns to this temple,
 ‘and sustain the dome, which is in form of an inverted
 ‘punch-bowl. All the avenues are planted with ivy, vines,
 ‘yews, and cypress. Two handsome barges, built by the
 ‘prince’s order, float upon the lake, ready to carry those
 ‘who love excursions upon the water, or that are desirous of
 ‘going to the forest, which is called the *Boubero*.’ Letters,
 vol. III. p. 74—79.

VOL. I.

D

‘passion

M E M O I R S O F

CHAP. II.

A. D.

1736.

‘ passion for study, which appeared in the prince:
 ‘ and though he was the father, and of a penetrat-
 ‘ ing disposition, he knew not the soul of Cæsar.
 ‘ He could not conceive that a genius, which was
 ‘ capable of painting victories, was capable of ob-
 ‘ taining them ²².’

As the prince was very fond of French litera-
 ture, he was much attached to the works of VOL-
 TAIRE, and commenced a correspondence with
 him. His first letter to that celebrated writer, of
 which the following is a translation, was dated the
 8th of August, 1736.

‘ S I R,

‘ Though I have not the satisfaction of your per-
 ‘ sonal acquaintance, you are well known to me by
 ‘ your works. If you will allow me the expression,
 ‘ they are treasures of wit, pieces wrought with
 ‘ such exquisite taste, that every perusal discovers
 ‘ new beauties. I fancy that in them I can trace
 ‘ the character of their ingenious author, who does
 ‘ honour to human nature.

‘ Should ever the dispute concerning the superi-
 ‘ ority of the antients be renewed; the great men
 ‘ of modern times will be obliged to you, and to
 ‘ you only, for turning the balance in their favour.

‘ To an excellent poetical genius, you add a
 ‘ fund of varied knowledge, which, in truth, has

²² Letters of Baron Bielfeld, translated by Hooper, vol. III.
 p. 121.

‘ some

‘ some affinity with poetry, but never was appro-
 ‘ priated to it, except by your pen. Never before
 ‘ did poet reduce metaphysical thoughts to ca-
 ‘ dence; that honour was reserved for M. de Vol-
 ‘ taire. The taste for philosophy displayed in your
 ‘ writings, has induced me to send you the accu-
 ‘ sation and defence of M. Wolfius, which has
 ‘ been translated by my direction. That gentle-
 ‘ man, the most celebrated philosopher of our age,
 ‘ has thrown light upon the darkest parts of me-
 ‘ taphysics [s]; and because he has treated these
 ‘ difficult subjects in a manner equally sublime,
 ‘ exact, and elegant, he is cruelly accused of Atheism.
 ‘ Such is the destiny of great men: their superior
 ‘ genius is always exposed to the envenomed shafts
 ‘ of calumny and envy.

‘ I have given orders for the translation of ano-
 ‘ ther work, by the same author, entitled, *A Treatise of God, the Soul, and the World*. I shall send
 ‘ it to you as soon as it is finished, and I have not
 ‘ the least doubt but that you will be struck by the
 ‘ strong evidence of each of his propositions, which
 ‘ follow in a geometrical order, and are connected
 ‘ like the links of a chain.

‘ The kindness and support you shew yourself
 ‘ ready to bestow on all who devote themselves

[s] If Voltaire may be credited, Frederick did not afterwards think so highly of the productions of Wolfius: for he informs us, that he stiled him “a compiler of trash”²³.

²³ Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 30.

CHAP. II.

A. D.

1736.

‘ to the arts and sciences, make me hope, that
 ‘ you will not exclude me from the number of
 ‘ those you think worthy of your instructions. I
 ‘ call your correspondence by that name, which
 ‘ cannot fail of being profitable to every thinking
 ‘ being. I even dare affirm, without derogating
 ‘ from the merit of any man, that there is scarcely
 ‘ an individual in the universe, who might not,
 ‘ with justice, own you to be his master. Without
 ‘ lavishing incense unworthy of being offered to
 ‘ you, I can safely say, that your works abound
 ‘ with numberless beauties. Your *Henriade* charms
 ‘ me, and happily triumphs over the injudicious
 ‘ *critique* by which it has been attacked. Your
 ‘ tragedy of *Cæsar* presents us with a set of cha-
 ‘ racters well supported. The sentiments are uni-
 ‘ formly grand and sublime: we feel that Brutus
 ‘ is either a Roman, or an Englishman.

‘ To the graces of novelty, *Alzira* joins a happy
 ‘ contrast between the Savage and European man-
 ‘ ners. In the character of *Gusman*, you shew;
 ‘ that Christianity, ill understood, and under the
 ‘ guidance of mistaken zeal, inspires the heart with
 ‘ more barbarous ferocity than Paganism itself.
 ‘ Corneille, the great Corneille, who attracted the
 ‘ universal admiration of his age, were he to rise
 ‘ from the dead in our days, would behold with
 ‘ wonder, and perhaps not without a mixture of
 ‘ envy, the Goddess lavish thoir favours upon you,
 ‘ which she bestowed upon him with a sparing
 ‘ hand:

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‘ hand :—what may not be expected from the au-
 ‘ thor of so many master-pieces ! What new won-
 ‘ ders will not flow from that pen, which formerly,
 ‘ with such wit and elegance, traced out *the Temple*
 ‘ of *Taste* !

CHAP. II.
 A. D.
 1736.

‘ This makes me so ardently desire the possession
 ‘ of all your works. I entreat you, Sir, to send
 ‘ them, and to communicate the whole without re-
 ‘ serve. Should there be any manuscript, that, by
 ‘ a necessary circumspection, you may think pro-
 ‘ per to keep from the public eye, I promise to
 ‘ conceal it in the bosom of secrecy, and to content
 ‘ myself with admiring it in private. Unhappily,
 ‘ I am sensible, that, in our days, no great trust
 ‘ is reposed in the faith of princes : however, I
 ‘ hope, you will not suffer yourself to be misled by
 ‘ general prejudices, but make an exception to the
 ‘ rule in my favour.

‘ I should think myself richer in the possession
 ‘ of your works, than if I were master of all the
 ‘ perishing and contemptible gifts of fortune, which
 ‘ the same blind chance confers and takes away.

‘ Your works may be made our own by the help
 ‘ of memory, and till that fails they will remain.—
 ‘ Sensible of the small extent of mine, I balance
 ‘ a long time before I determine what deserves a
 ‘ place in it,

‘ If poesy were still upon the former footing ;—
 ‘ if its writers could only trill tiresome idylls, ec-
 ‘ logues cast in an unvaried mould, insipid stanzas,

CHAP. II. or at most, could only tune their lyre to elegiac
A. D. notes, I would renounce it for ever; but in your
1736.

hand the art is ennobled; you have pointed out
to us new paths, and traced a route unknown to
*** and ***.

Your performances command respect: they
deserve to be admired and studied by men of
sense and taste. They form a compleat system
of morals, by which the world may learn to think
and to act.—Virtue is painted in the most ami-
able colours.—The idea of true glory is fixed,
and a taste for the sciences inspired in a manner
so refined and delicate, that whoever reads your
works must feel an ambition to imitate them.—
How often have I said to myself, *Attempt not a*
burthen too heavy for your strength; Voltaire can
be imitated only by a Voltaire! Those are the mo-
ments in which I feel how vain and empty are
the advantages of birth: those sounds, the marks
of distinctions foreign to ourselves, and only or-
namental to the outside.—How preferable to
those are the talents of genius!

What do we not owe to those men, whom na-
ture distinguished at their formation; whom she
delighted to furnish with a capacity necessary to
make a proficiency in the arts, and whose vigils
it is the duty of princes to recompense? Ah!
why cannot I be the glorious instrument of crown-
ing your success? I should only be apprehensive,
that this rude climate could not furnish so many
laurels

' laurels as your works deserve. Should destiny CHAP. II.
 ' be so unfavourable as to deny me the happiness A. D.
 ' of making you my own, at least may I hope one 1736.
 ' day to see the man whom I have so long ad-
 ' mired at a distance, and to assure you in person,
 ' that with all the esteem and consideration due to
 ' those, who, guided by the light of truth, conse-
 ' crate their labours to the public utility,

' I am, &c. ²⁴'

THIS letter may be considered as an extraordi-
 nary production for a prince; and shews how much
 superior his intellectual attainments were to those
 of the generality of princes. But his admiration
 of VOLTAIRE was excessive; and it was, perhaps,
 a misfortune, both to himself, and to the world,
 that he should so early become the zealous disciple
 of a writer, who was as much distinguished by the
 pernicious scepticism of his productions, as by the
 brilliancy of his wit, and the originality of his ge-
 nius. From him, however, he probably derived
 that attachment to the principles of religious tole-
 ration, which he manifested throughout his whole
 reign, and which was in the highest degree bene-
 ficial to his subjects.

AMONG other persons of a literary taste, with
 whom the prince-royal of Prussia connected him-
 self, one was M. ULRIC FREDERICK DE SUHM,

²⁴ Historical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, trans-
 lated from the French, 8vo. 1777. Lond. p. 24, 25, &c.

CHAP. II. privy-counsellor to the elector of Saxony, who
 A. D. was sent as envoy extraordinary to the court of
 1736. Berlin, a station in which he continued about ten years. The prince was not more than eight years of age when M. Suhm arrived at Berlin; and when, some years after, a great friendship for the Saxon minister was manifested by the prince, the intercourse between them excited a considerable jealousy in Frederick William. M. Suhm and the prince often passed much time together, in discoursing on subjects of literature and philosophy, and their conversations were sometimes extended to a very late hour of the night. This gave the more offence to the king, because M. Suhm was a great admirer of WOLFIUS, of the tendency of whose writings Frederick William had conceived a very unfavourable opinion. The dislike of the king to M. Suhm seems to have occasioned his recall to Dresden: but the prince had formed so strong an attachment to him, that his removal did not prevent the continuance of their correspondence.

IN 1736, M. Suhm undertook, at the desire of the prince, to translate into the French language the METAPHYSICS of WOLFIUS. The original was in German; and it was a circumstance somewhat singular, that a German prince should be so extremely solicitous, as Frederick appears to have been, to read the work of Wolfius, not in the original, but in a French translation. But the prince-royal of Prussia had very early conceived a great pre-

prejudice against his native language. Suhm's CHAP. II.
A. D.
1736. translation was sent, sheet by sheet, inclosed in his letters; and much of the correspondence which has been published, between him and the prince, was upon this subject. In one of the prince's letters, dated at Ruppın, April 27, 1736, is the following passage: "I study Wolfius with great application, and I form myself more and more to his manner of thinking, which is very just and profound ²⁵." In another letter, speaking of Wolfius, he says, "I admire the great profundity of this celebrated philosopher, who has studied nature as no person before has ever done, and who has attained to an ability of assigning reasons for things, which heretofore were not only obscure and confused, but even totally unintelligible. It seems to me, that I acquire every day more light from him; and that at every proposition that I study, a new scale falls from my eyes. His work ought to be universally read, in order to teach men to think, and to follow the thread, or the connexion of ideas, in the search after truth ²⁶."

THE same year a French translation was published of the *Logic* of Wolfius by M. Deschamps [T], with

²⁵ Correspondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Prusse avec U. F. de Suhm, Conseiller, &c. Tom. I. p. 23. Amst. 1787. 12mo. ²⁶ Ibid. p. 39.

[T] JOHN DESCHAMPS was son to a clergyman at Berlin, and having been himself educated for the ministry, had preached

CHAP. II. with a most flattering dedication to the prince.
A. D. 1736. royal of Prussia. But this adulation did not meet

with a very favourable reception from Frederick. In a letter to M. Suhm, the prince says, ' I confess to you, my dear DIAPHANES [u], that the dedication of M. Deschamps appears to me extremely insipid. It is not so much offering incense, as flinging the censer at one's head. Thus to praise a person, with whom he acknowledges he is not acquainted, is to write a panegyric on a hero of romance; on an imaginary being, that exists no where but in the writer's brain. Had this dedication been prefixed to a tragedy, or an epic poem, an apology might have been made for the author, by alleging, that, inflamed with the ardours of poetry, he had been hurried away by a heated imagination, without having time to listen to reason. But, by prefixing such a dedication to a treatise on logic, the poor translator

as a candidate in the church at Rheinsberg. He published a course of the Wolfian philosophy, in the form of letters to a friend. But when Voltaire arrived at Berlin, after the accession of Frederick III. he was attacked in a publication of Deschamps's, which gave great offence to the king. Deschamps was thereupon ridiculed in a comedy performed at court, and of which Frederick himself was supposed to be the author. With this circumstance Deschamps was so much affected, that he quitted his native country for ever, and went into England, where he became minister of the church in the Savoy. He died in 1760.

[u] DIAPHANES is a name given by Frederick to M. Suhm, and by which he generally addressed him in his letters.

' has

‘ has fallen, according to my apprehension, into
 ‘ an essential error, and shewn that he does not him-
 ‘ self understand the art of reasoning. When the
 ‘ translator sent it to me, I desired that my thanks
 ‘ might be returned to him, for the excellent work
 ‘ that he had dedicated to me; but at the same
 ‘ time I informed him, that, sensible to the good
 ‘ wishes expressed in his dedication, I should be
 ‘ ungrateful if I did not, for his own sake, wish
 ‘ that he had entirely altered the style of it ²⁶.’

CHAP. II.
 A. D.
 1736.

It appears from a letter of the prince's to M. Suhm, dated from Berlin, June 22, 1737, that insinuations had been thrown out to the king his father, that his highness had no religion; and that Frederick William at first gave credit to these insinuations. But the prince at length pacified him, by his strict attention to military discipline, and by procuring some tall soldiers. ‘ You know,’ says Frederick, ‘ that the accusation of irreligion is the last refuge of calumniators. After this, nothing farther can be said. The king took fire; I kept myself close; my regiment did wonders; and their dexterity in handling their arms, a little flour scattered on the soldiers heads, men above six feet high, together with a great many recruits, were arguments more powerful than those of my accusers. Every thing is now quiet, and I hear

A. D.
 1737.

²⁶ Correspondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Prusse avec U. F. de Suhm, Conseiller, &c. Tom. I. p. 70, 71.

‘ nothing

CHAP. II. 'nothing more either of religion, or my persecu-
A. D. 'tors ²⁷.' In order to put his father in good hu-
1737-

mour, the prince occasionally procured from abroad men of uncommon stature; and M. Suhm, who was now sent as envoy from the court of Dresden to that of Peterburgh, was sometimes employed as an agent for that purpose. Among others, he procured for him several very tall and handsome Turks ²⁸.

IN a letter from M. Suhm to the prince, dated from Petersburg, Aug. 13, 1737, he gave him an account of the great exploits of count MUNICH, in the war which was then carrying on between the Russians and the Turks. To this letter the prince returned an answer, in which is the following passage: 'I have received, my dear Diaphanes, your warlike letter, in which I see nothing but the triumphs of count Munich, and the defeat of the Turks and Tartars. I confess to you, that I am one of those persons, who love to partake of the glory of others; and that, without philosophy, I should see with some uneasiness so many great actions, in which I have had no share. Count MUNICH seems to be the Alexander of the age; he gains battles, with as much ease as they overturn houses of cards; and conquers provinces with more rapidity than others pass through them.

²⁷ Correspondance familiere et amicale de Frederick Roi de Prusse avec U. F. de Suhm, Conseiller, &c. Tom. II. p. 5, 6, 7.

²⁸ Ibid. p. 74, 80, 88, 96.

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‘It is a happiness to come into the world at a
 ‘proper time and place, without which one can
 ‘do nothing. The PRINCE OF ANHALT, who is,
 ‘perhaps, the greatest general of the age, continues
 ‘in a state of obscurity; a misfortune of
 ‘which no one but himself can be sufficiently sensible:
 ‘while others, who are greatly his inferiors, are
 ‘become the arbiters of the earth. This evinces
 ‘the truth of the remark that I am making, that
 ‘it is not sufficient merely to have merit, but one
 ‘must be placed in a proper situation, in order to
 ‘be enabled to exhibit it advantageously. The
 ‘peaceable inhabitants of Rheinsberg are not so
 ‘warlike; I am more employed in clearing lands,
 ‘than in cutting the throats of men; and I find
 ‘myself a thousand times more happy in deserving
 ‘a civic crown, than a triumph. We are going to
 ‘perform the OEDIPUS of Voltaire, in which I am
 ‘to be the hero of the theatre. I have chosen the
 ‘part of PHILOCTETES. One must content one self
 ‘with something ²⁹.’ Notwithstanding the prince’s
 ‘philosophy, it is sufficiently apparent from this
 ‘letter, that he then wished to perform a more
 ‘important part on the theatre of the world.

CHAP. II.
 A. D.
 1737.

IN July, 1738, the king of Prussia, accompanied by the prince-royal, and attended by a nu-

A. D.
 1738.

²⁹ Correspondance-familier et amicale, &c. ut supra, p. 16, 17, 18.

merous

CHAP. II.
A. D.
1738.

merous retinue, made a tour to Holland, and paid a visit to the prince of Orange. It happened, that, at this time, a conversation took place at the prince of Orange's table, which occasioned the prince-royal of Prussia to become a free-mason. The subject of free-masonry being introduced, the king of Prussia spoke disadvantageously of that institution; upon which count Lippe, who was one of the company, avowed himself to be a free-mason, and zealously defended the fraternity of which he was a member. The prince-royal was so much pleased with what had been advanced by the count in favour of the institution, that he afterwards expressed to him, in confidence, his desire to become a member of the society; and added, that he wished to be admitted into it at Brunswick, at the time of the fair, which was then approaching, and at which his father had resolved to be present. His reason was, that the concourse of strangers at Brunswick at that time, would occasion less notice to be taken of the arrival of the other masons, who should attend there to form a lodge for the purpose³⁰. The whole was adjusted agreeably to the prince's desire; and he was admitted into the society of free-masons, at Brunswick, in the middle of the month of August [v]. The prince was at this time in his

³⁰ Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 30.

[v] The following particulars respecting the prince's admission, and his behaviour on the occasion, are related by Bielfeld,

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his twenty-seventh year; and it was on this occasion that he first became acquainted with M. Bielfeld, who was present at the ceremony, and whom he afterwards took into his service, and created a baron: and who has given the following description of the prince's person and manners at that time.

CHAP. II.
A. D.
1738.

‘He is not,’ says he, ‘of a remarkable stature; and would not have been chosen to have ruled in the place of Saul; but when we consider the strength and beauty of his genius, we cannot but desire, for the prosperity of the people, to see him fill the throne of Prussia. His features are highly pleasing, with a sprightly look, and a noble air; and it depends altogether on himself to appear

feld. ‘On the 14th (of August) the whole day was spent in preparations for the lodge; and a little after midnight we saw the prince-royal arrive, accompanied by count W. captain in the king's regiment at Potsdam. The prince presented this gentleman as a candidate whom he recommended; and whose reception he wished immediately to succeed his own. He desired us likewise to omit in his reception not any one rigorous ceremony, that was used in similar cases; to grant him no indulgence whatever; but gave us leave on this occasion to treat him merely as a private person. In a word, he was received with all the usual and requisite formalities. I admired his intrepidity, the serenity of his countenance, and his graceful deportment, even in the most critical moments. I had prepared a short address, of which he testified his approbation. After the two receptions, we opened the lodge, and proceeded to our work. He appeared highly delighted, and acquitted himself with as much dexterity as discernment.’ Letters, vol. III. p. 36.

CHAP. II. ' perfectly engaging. A *petit maitre* of Paris would
 A. D. ' not, perhaps, admire his *frisure*: his hair, how-
 1738. ' ever, is of a bright brown, carelessly curled, but
 ' well adapted to his countenance. His large,
 ' blue eyes, have at once something severe, soft,
 ' and gracious. I was surprized to find in him so
 ' youthful an air. His behaviour, in every respect,
 ' is that of a person of exalted rank; and he is the
 ' most polite man in all that kingdom over which
 ' he is born to rule ³¹.'

As the prince-royal had a regiment under his command, which was in garrison at RUPPIN, he was occasionally at that place, where he had a house [w]; but his chief residence was at RHEINSBERG, where he held his court. The marshal of his court was M. WOLDEN, who was somewhat advanced in years; but he had a young wife, who was a handsome and accomplished woman, and who made a distinguished figure at the court of Rheinsberg. FREDERSTORF, the soldier who had at-

³¹ Letters of Baron Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 37, 38.

[w] Baron Bielfeld says, ' His highness's residence at RUPPIN is in an old house, but it is charmingly furnished. There are moreover delicious gardens, which are formed in an old triple rampart that surrounds the city; and consists of alleys, walks, reposes, and beautiful vistas: and at the end of these walks is a more regular garden, ornamented with hedges, vases, statues, bowers, a pavilion, a grotto, a bath, the temple of Apollo, and many other embellishments. There we frequently dine, and breathe a constant spirit of gaiety.' Letters, ut supra, p. 112, 113.

tended the prince when he was closely confined at ^{CHAP. II.} Custring, was now transformed into the first gentleman of his bed-chamber. Among the prince's ^{A. D. 1738.} favourites were baron KEYSERLING [x], M. BIELFELD,

[x] THIERRY, Baron KEYSERLING, appears to have been a man of amiable, but singular character. The following account of his person and behaviour is given by Bielfeld, when he first saw him at Rheinsberg. 'Baron Keyserling is a gentleman of Courland, engaged in the military service of the king of Prussia, and particularly attached to the person of the prince-royal. It was some time before I could meet with him, and I had heard so much of him, and was so much prejudiced in his favour, that I burned with impatience to see him. He entered the hall like a whirlwind, or like Boreas in the ballet of the Rose. He was just come from hunting; and it appeared odd enough to see him in a night gown, and with a gun upon his shoulder. He accosted me at once with an air of perfect ease; and his first words appeared to me, as if I had been for a long time honoured with his particular friendship. He took me by the arm, and led me into his chamber; and while he dressed, he repeated scraps of the *Henriade*, and strings of German verses, and talked of hounds and horses; cut some cross capers; and practised some steps in the rigadon *a la Balon*; then talked of politics, mathematics, painting, architecture, literary, and political matters. I remained immovable, listened with a profound silence, and admired every thing, even the happy transitions by which he passed so rapidly from one subject to another. I seemed, however, to perceive, that this extreme vivacity could not be altogether natural, and that it did not entirely flow from an abundant resource of genius; and though time has not quite banished this suspicion, I find nevertheless, on a farther acquaintance, that baron Keyserling is a very amiable gentleman; that he has a mind adorned with much pleasing knowledge; that he

CHAP. II. FIELD, afterwards baron Bielfeld, and the chevalier
 A. D. DE CHASOT, a young gentleman of Normandy,
 1738. of good talents, and a gay and sprightly temper,
 who had served in the French army. With this
 gentleman the prince became acquainted, when he

‘both talks, and writes well, and in verse as well as in prose;
 ‘and that he has a humour naturally gay, and a noble heart.
 ‘His figure is not very engaging; he is short and thick; has
 ‘small eyes, a large nose, a wide mouth, and a fallow com-
 ‘plexion. He has, however, an easy air, a graceful presence,
 ‘and all that he says, or does, is in the manner of a man of
 ‘birth. By attaching himself to the prince-royal he has con-
 ‘tracted his taste. He loves music, architecture, painting,
 ‘poetry, &c.’

When Frederick III. ascended the throne, baron Keyserling was so agitated with joy, that it threw him into a fever. In 1743, he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. He was a knight of Malta, and the king made him colonel of cavalry, and adjutant-general, and gave him a considerable pension. He lived too freely, and was much afflicted with the gout. He afterwards fell into a decline, and died on the 13th of August, 1745, at the age of forty-seven. The king's attachment to baron Keyserling appears to have been greater, than to almost any other of his favourites. He gave him the name of CESARION, and a poetical epistle addressed to him, under that name, is printed among the king's poems; in which Frederick speaks of him with the utmost tenderness, extols his amiable qualities, and represents himself as having, by his death, sustained an irreparable loss. The baron left an infant son, whom the king took under his own immediate care and protection. He also made a liberal provision for his widow. It appears from an *Eloge* on Baron Keyserling, published in the Works of Maupertuis, that he translated into French verse some odes of Horace, and also Pope's Rape of the Lock.

FRÉDÉRICK THE THIRD.

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went with his father, in 1734, to attend the opera-
tions of prince Eugene on the Rhine.

CHAP. II.
A. D.
1738.

THOUGH the prince-royal did not cohabit with his wife, yet she resided in the palace at Rheinf-berg, and took a part in the amusements of the place; and, notwithstanding the prince's aversion to the alliance, she is represented as a very beautiful and accomplished princess. Bielfeld, who was a courtier, and may therefore be suspected of a little flattery, has given the following description of her person and manners. ' Her royal highness ' is tall of stature; and her figure is, in one word, ' perfect. Never have I seen a more regular shape ' in all its proportions. Her neck, her hands, ' and her feet, might serve as models to the painter. ' Her hair, which I have particularly admired, is ' of a most beautiful flaxen, but somewhat inclining ' to white; and shines, when not powdered, like ' rows of pearls. Her complexion is remarkably ' fine; and, in her large blue eyes, vivacity and ' sweetness are so happily blended, as to make them ' perfectly animated. The princess has an open ' countenance; her eye-brows are neat and regu- ' lar; her nose is small and angular, but very ele- ' gantly defined; and her coral lips, and well- ' turned neck, are equally admirable. Goodness ' is strongly marked in her countenance; and we ' may say, from her whole figure, that the Graces ' have exerted themselves in forming a great prin- ' cess. Even those little negligences, which are

CHAP. II. ' sometimes seen in her dress, or her manner, have
A. D. ' a happy effect; though her highness's dress, in
1738.

{ ' general, is perfectly regular, and in excellent taste.
' There is scarcely any princess in Europe who has
' so many fine diamonds, and no one who disposes
' them to more advantage. I have seen on her
' robe an assemblage of brilliants, heightened by
' amethysts, of such transcendent beauty, that my
' eyes could scarcely bear the blaze of their lustre.
' Her highness talks but little, especially at table;
' but all she says is sterling sense. She appears to
' have an uncommon genius, and which she orna-
' ments by the continual study of the best French
' authors. Madam von Katsch [v] assures me,
' that she has a most amiable heart, and that her
' whole character is supremely excellent; of which
' she frequently gives me the most charming in-
' stances. Every evening, at six, her highness has
' a party at quadrille, or trisset, and plays with a
' noble indifference. Never, in my opinion, did
' any princess dance in greater perfection: her man-
' ner is at once graceful, easy, elegant, and majestic.
' It is sufficient to behold this princess, to know,
' that she is a lady of the most exalted rank ¹².'

[v] Madam von Katsch was first lady of the bed-chamber to the princess royal. Bielfeld says, ' I can conceive of nothing more respectable than this lady. Gravity and sweetness, decency and gaiety, dignity and politeness, are united in her countenance and her behaviour; and she is the patroness of all that is good and amiable.' Letters, vol. III. p. 88.

¹² Letters of Baron Bielfeld, p. 98.

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

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AT Rheinsberg literature and the fine arts were CHAP. II.
A. D.
1738. patronized and cultivated; and several persons of merit were lodged and maintained by the prince in the palace. Among these were, M. JORDAN, of whom I shall have occasion to speak hereafter; and M. SONNING, an old officer of artillery, who had lost a leg in the service, and by whom the prince had been instructed in mathematics and fortification. Baron KNOBELSTORF, who had been in the army, but who was withdrawn from it, and who was much distinguished by his talents in painting and architecture, was likewise a resident here; as were also PESNE, a painter of eminence, CHARLES HENRY GRAUN, master of the prince's chapel, JOHN GOTTLIB GRAUN, his concert master, and FRANCIS BENDA, famous for his excellence in playing on the violin, and for his fine compositions for that instrument: and the inhabitants of the prince's palace are represented as enjoying in it great liberty [z].

AMONG

[z] Bielfeld says, ' All who live in this palace enjoy a perfect liberty, for their particular employments, or private pleasures. We see the prince and princess only at table, at play, at the ball, the concert, or other common pleasures of which we participate. Time, so precious to a thinking being, and so tedious to one who does not think, is not here passed by lying long in bed, in making a long breakfast, or in pacifying or dispatching of duns, or in grave conferences with a taylor, or such other important visitor, or at a tedious toilet, or by dancing attendance in an anti-chamber, and passing the remainder

CHAP. II.
A. D.
1738.

AMONG other literary men, who were introduced to the prince of Prussia at Rheinsberg, was the ingenious

“mainder of the day in frivolous discourse. Here every one reads, reflects, draws, paints, or plays on some instrument; or writes and amuses, or employs himself in his apartment; and is dressed with elegance, though not ostentation, by the hour of dinner.” Ibid. p. 92.

In another place, he says, “Our days here pass away in a tranquil manner, and enlivened by every enjoyment that can please a rational mind. Royal cheer, wine for the gods, the music of angels; delicious pastimes in the gardens, in the woods, upon the waters; the cultivation of letters and the polite arts, and a refined conversation; all concur to spread their powers over this enchanting palace.” Ibid, p. 98.

It seems from what is said by Bielfeld afterwards, that the prince’s wine at Rheinsberg was sometimes, though not frequently, used too freely both by himself and his courtiers. “About a fortnight since,” says he, “the prince was in a humour of extraordinary gaiety at table. His gaiety animated all the rest; and some glasses of champaign still more enlivened our mirth. The prince, perceiving our disposition, was willing to promote it; and, on rising from table, told us he was determined we should re-commence our jollity at supper, and in the same place where we had left off. Towards evening he was called to the concert; at the end of which the prince said to me, “Go now to the princess’s apartment, and when she has finished her play, we will sit down to table, and will not quit it till the lights are out, and we are somewhat enlightened with champaign.” I regarded this threat as a pleasantry; for I knew that parties, which are expressly intended for this purpose, seldom succeed, but commonly become more dull than joyous. On entering the princess’s apartment, however, her highness, convinced that the affair was very serious, prognosticated with a smile, that I should not be able to do

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genious and celebrated count ALGAROTTI, to whom the prince afterwards became much attached.

CHAR. II.
A. D.
1738.

‘ send myself against the prince’s attack. In fact, we were
‘ scarcely seated before he began, by drinking a number of in-
‘ teresting healths, which there was a necessity of pledging. This
‘ first skirmish being over, it was followed by an incessant flow
‘ of sallies and repartees, by the prince and the company; the
‘ most contracted countenances became expanded; the gaiety
‘ was general; and even the ladies assisted in promoting our jol-
‘ lity.’ After about two hours, Bielfeld says, he went out into
‘ the vestibule: ‘ When I went out, I found myself sober
‘ enough, but the air seized me, and on entering the hall, I per-
‘ ceived a sort of vapour that seemed to cloud my reason. I had
‘ placed before me a large glass of water, which the princess,
‘ opposite to whom I had the honour to sit, in a vein of mis-
‘ chievous pleasantry, had ordered to be emptied, and had filled
‘ it with Sillery wine, which was as clear as rock water; so
‘ that, having already lost my taste, I mixed my wine with
‘ wine; and thinking to refresh myself, I became joyous, but
‘ it was a kind of joy that leaned towards intoxication. To
‘ finish my picture, the prince ordered me to come and sit by
‘ him: he said many gracious things to me, and let me see into
‘ futurity, as far as my feeble sight was then capable of disco-
‘ vering; and at the same time made me drink, bumper after
‘ bumper, of his Lunelle wine. The rest of the company, how-
‘ ever, were not less sensible than I, of the effects of the Nec-
‘ tar, which there flowed in such mighty streams.’—‘ At last,
‘ whether by accident, or design, the princess broke a glass.
‘ This was a signal for our impetuous jollity, and an example
‘ that appeared highly worthy of imitation. In an instant, all
‘ the glasses flew to the several corners of the room; and all the
‘ chrystals, porcelain, piers, branches, bowls, vases, &c. were
‘ broken into a thousand pieces. In the midst of this universal
‘ destruction, the prince stood, like the man in Horace, who

CHAP. II. ed. In a letter written to lord Hervey, and dated
 A. D. Sept. 30, 1739, the count says, 'What shall I
 1739. say to you, my lord, of the prince-royal, the lover
 ' and the favourite of the Muses? Several days
 ' which we [A] passed with him, in his castle of
 ' Rheinsberg, seemed to be but a few hours. He
 ' is the most intelligent and most amiable of men.
 ' Though I could notice only his private virtues,
 ' I can boldly assure you, my lord, that the world
 ' will one day admire his royal qualifications; and
 ' that when he shall be upon the throne, he will
 ' shew himself to be the greatest of sovereigns.
 ' There is all the reason in the world to believe,
 ' that he will seek out for great men, with as much
 ' eagerness as his father does for giants³³.'

' contemplates the crush of worlds, with a look of perfect tran-
 ' quility. To this tumult succeeded a fresh burst of mirth;
 ' during which the prince slipped away, and, aided by his pages,
 ' retired to his apartment; and the princess immediately fol-
 ' lowed.' Bielfeld himself was so intoxicated, that he fell
 ' down the grand stair-case from the top to the bottom, and was
 ' so bruised and hurt, that he was taken up senseless. ' After
 ' lying,' says he, ' about a fortnight in bed, where the prince
 ' had the goodness to come every day to see me, and contribute
 ' every thing possible to my cure, I got abroad again. The day
 ' after this adventure the court was at its last gasp. Neither
 ' the prince, nor any of the courtiers, could stir from their
 ' beds.' Ibid. p. 99—104.

[A] When the count was introduced to the prince of Prussia,
 he was accompanied by lord Baltimore.

³³ Letters from Count Algarotti to Lord Hervey and the
 Marquis Scipio Maffei, vol. II. p. 33, 34, edit, Lond. 1769.

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

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OF the employments and conversation of the prince at RHEINSBERG, the following account is given by baron Bielfeld. ‘ All the employments, and all the pleasures of the prince, are those of a man of understanding. He is at this time actually engaged in refuting the dangerous political reveries of Machiavel. His conversation at table is charming. He talks much, and excellently well. His mind seems to be equal to all sorts of subjects; and his imagination produces, on each of them, a number of new and just ideas. His genius resembles the fire of the vestals, that was never extinct. A decent and polite contradiction is not disagreeable to him. He possesses the rare talent of displaying the wit of others, and of giving them opportunities to shine on those subjects in which they excel. He jests frequently, and sometimes rallies, but never with asperity, and an ingenious retort does not displease him. The antithesis and the simile appear to be his favourite figures.’—‘ Nothing can be more elegant than this prince’s library. It has a view of the lake and gardens. A collection, not very numerous, but well chosen, of the best books in the French language, are ranged in glass cases, which are ornamented with carvings and gildings in excellent taste. The portrait of M. de VOLTAIRE occupies an honourable place in this library. He is the favourite author of the prince, who has, in

CHAP. II.
A. D.
1739.

CHAP. II. 'in general, a high esteem for the good French
A. D. 'writers, both in prose and in verse ²⁴.'
1739-

As the prince-royal had several musical composers and performers with him, he had generally private concerts in the evening. Bielfeld says, 'The evenings are devoted to music. The prince has a concert in his saloon, where no one enters that is not invited, and such invitation is regarded as an extraordinary favour. The prince has commonly performed a sonata, and a concert for the flute, on which he plays in the greatest perfection. He fills the flute admirably well, has great agility of the fingers, and a vast fund of music. He composes himself sonatas. I have had the honour to stand behind him more than once, while he was playing, and was charmed with his taste, especially in the *adagio*. He has a continual creation of new ideas.' This writer adds, 'The prince dances in a noble and graceful manner. In a word, he loves all rational pleasures, except the chase ²⁵ [B].'

Much

²⁴ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. III. p. 92, 93.

²⁵ Ibid.

p. 94, 95.

[B] It has been said, that when the prince was at Custrin, he frequently rode out a hunting, and generally carried a fowling-piece with him, with which he often fired at such game as he occasionally met with. On one of these excursions, having, when on horseback, dropped his glove, by stooping to take it up, he accidentally caused his piece to go off, and a bullet went through his hat, but without doing him any injury. This nar-

MUCH of the prince's time was employed in CHAP. II.
A. D.
1739. exercising the troops under his command, in attendance at reviews, and in occasional journies with his father; but when he was at Rheinsberg, he often applied himself to his studies with great ardour, particularly to history and philosophy. One of his letters to M. Suhm contains the following passage: 'I become every day more covetous of my time; I render an account of it to myself; and I lose none of it but with great regret. My mind is entirely turned towards philosophy; it has rendered me admirable services, and I am greatly indebted to it. I find myself happy, abundantly more tranquil than formerly; my soul is less subject to violent agitations; and I do nothing till I have thoroughly considered what course of action I ought to adopt ³⁶.' In another letter, he says, 'I am retired at present to my dear solitude, where I shall give myself up to my studies. WOLFIUS, as you may suppose, will have his place; ROLLIN also will have his hours; and the rest shall be consecrated to the gods of tranquility and repose ³⁷.' In another letter, speaking of the employments of himself and his literary friends at

row escape made such an impression upon him, that he solemnly swore, that he would never again carry a gun for such a purpose: and it is added, that from this time he wholly left off the practice of hunting.

³⁶ Correspondance familiere et amicale, tom II, p. 7.

³⁷ Ibid. tom, I. p. 43, 44.

CHAP. II. Rheinsberg, he says, ' We have divided our occu-

A. D.

1739.

' pations into two classes, of which the one com-
' prehends those that are useful, and the other those
' that are agreeable. I reckon in the number of
' those that are useful, the study of philosophy, of
' history, and of languages: the agreeable are
' music, and the tragedies and comedies that we
' exhibit here. Our serious occupations have, how-
' ever, always the privilege of preceding the others;
' and I dare venture to affirm to you, that we
' make only a reasonable use of these pleasures;
' engaging in them for no other purpose but to
' relax our minds, and to temper that moroseness,
' and extreme philosophic gravity, which does not
' easily suffer its countenance to be enlivened by
' the *graces*.³⁸'

THE prince remarks to M. Suhm in one of his letters, that the days he had passed at Rheinsberg were the happiest that he had ever known³⁹. But his tranquillity in this agreeable retreat was sometimes a little disturbed by the want of money, with which his frugal father, notwithstanding his immense hoards, did not furnish him in too great abundance. In one of his letters to M. Suhm, he tells him, that he was pressed on all sides by his creditors⁴⁰; and he repeatedly mentions to him his difficulties on that account. He, therefore, employed that gentleman to procure for him some

³⁸ Correspondance familiere et amicale, tom. I. p. 64, 65.

³⁹ Ibid. p. 76.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 119.

loans of money. Accordingly he borrowed for him considerable sums of the empress Anne Iwanowna of Russia, and from the duke of Courland, formerly count Biron, her favourite. He was at first unwilling to receive any money from the empress. He observed to M. Suhm, that it was a very different thing to be under obligations to a duke, and to be under obligations to an empress⁴¹. But his necessities at length obliged him to consent. Besides the sums that he borrowed of the duke of Courland, the empress seems to have agreed to furnish him with twenty-four thousand crowns *per annum*⁴².

OF the dislike that Frederick William had conceived against WOLFIIUS, who had now for some time been banished from his dominions, I have already taken some notice. But, towards the close of his life, the Prussian monarch began to entertain a more favourable opinion of this celebrated writer. In one of the prince's letters to M. Suhm, dated Oct. 14, 1739, is the following passage: 'The news of the day is, that the king reads the philosophy of Wolfius three hours in the day; for which God be praised. Thus we at length see the triumph of reason; and I hope that the bigots, with their obscure cabal, will no more be able to oppress good sense and reason. Would you have believed, two years ago, that this phæ-

⁴¹ Correspondance familiere et amicale, tom. II. p. 60.

⁴² Ibid, p. 105.

' nomenon

CHAP. II.

A. D.

1739.

‘ nomenon would ever have happened? You see,
 ‘ therefore, that we must swear for nothing, and
 ‘ that those things which appear to us the most
 ‘ remote, are sometimes those which the soonest
 ‘ come to pass. But what will the philosopher
 ‘ himself say? For, with all his rules of probability,
 ‘ I am sure that he never expected what has now
 ‘ happened. I can tell you also still more: Wol-
 ‘ fius has been offered a pension of a thousand
 ‘ crowns, with another of five hundred for his son,
 ‘ and a pension is also promised to his wife, in case
 ‘ of her widowhood. Behold things new and aston-
 ‘ nishing, but which are, nevertheless, very true ⁴³.’

DURING M. Suhm’s residence at Petersburg, the prince of Prussia endeavoured to gain from him the most exact information respecting the state of the Russian empire. He made very particular inquiries concerning the alterations that had been made in Muscovy from the time of the accession of Peter the Great, relative to religion, the military art, commerce, dress, manners, and population. He also inquired what changes had been made in the police of the kingdom, what was the quantity of specie, what public works had been undertaken, and what was the state of literature in Russia. M. Suhm in some degree answered his inquiries; but seems not to have been able to obtain him all the information that he wanted ⁴⁴.

⁴³ Correspondance familiere et amicale, p. 97, 98.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 12, 13, 21, 22, &c.

IN a letter to M. Suhm, dated from Berlin, CHAP. II.
A. D.
1740.
 April 13, 1740, the prince intimates to him, that
 the king his father was in so bad a state of health,
 that the physicians considered his case as desperate,
 and apprehended his end to be speedily approach-
 ing. ‘You may easily imagine,’ says he, ‘that
 ‘this state of things occasions much bustle here;
 ‘and, in fact, they leave me little repose; but
 ‘within I am tranquil; and, I assure you, that I
 ‘have never found myself more a philosopher than
 ‘upon this occasion. I regard with eyes of indif-
 ‘ference all that awaits me: without either hopes
 ‘or fears from fortune, I am full of compassion
 ‘for those who suffer, of esteem for worthy peo-
 ‘ple, and of tenderness for my friends. You,
 ‘who are in the number of the last, may more
 ‘and more assure yourself, that you will find in
 ‘me all that Orestes ever found in Pylades ⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Correspondance familiere et amicale, p. 112, 113.

CHAP. III.

Death of Frederick William.—Accession of Frederick III. to the throne of Prussia.—His popularity among his subjects on his accession.—He attends the funeral of his father.—Disbands the regiment of tall guards.—Institutes a new order of knighthood.—Declines being crowned.—Voltaire congratulates him on his accession.—Visits several parts of his dominions.—Takes a journey to Strasburgh.—Has an interview with Voltaire.—Prints his Anti-Machiavel.—Claims, and seizes, two districts in the possession of the bishop of Leige.

CHAP.
III.
A. D.
1740.

DURING the latter years of **FREDERICK WILLIAM**, he was so much afflicted with ill health, that it increased the natural violence and irritability of his temper; so that he is said to have behaved with great turbulence even to his physicians [c]. But when he found that his end was certainly

[c] Dr. Johnson says, that Frederick William 'spoke and acted in his illness with his usual turbulence and roughness, reproaching his physicians in the grossest terms with their unskilfulness and impotence, and imputing to their ignorance or wickedness the pain which their prescriptions failed to relieve. These insults they bore with the submission which is commonly paid to despotic monarchs; till at last the celebrated Hoffman was consulted, who failing, like the rest, to give ease to his majesty, was like the rest treated with injurious language.

certainly approaching, his behaviour was more calm and resigned. Late in the evening of the 26th of May, 1740, a courier arrived at Rheinsberg, with letters acquainting the prince, that his father was so ill, that his dissolution was speedily apprehended. It was observed, that it would be expedient, that his royal highness should be present when the king breathed his last, and that the utmost expedition was necessary; but that it was proper, that he should give his visit the appearance of being merely the effect of attention and tenderness towards his majesty. The prince immediately set off for Potsdam, where he found his father not apparently so ill as he expected; but the king expressed himself highly pleased at his arrival. He lived till the last day of the month, when he expired, at three in the afternoon [D], in the arms of his son and successor,

CHAP.
III.
A. D.
1740.

‘guage. Hoffman, conscious of his own merit, replied, that ‘he could not bear reproaches which he did not deserve; that ‘he had tried all the remedies that art could supply, or nature ‘could admit; that he was, indeed, a professor by his majesty’s ‘bounty, but that if his abilities or integrity were doubted, ‘he was willing to leave not only the university but the king- ‘dom; and that he could not be driven into any place where ‘the name of Hoffman would want respect. The king, how- ‘ever unaccustomed to such returns, was struck with convic- ‘tion of his own indecency, told Hoffman that he had spoken ‘well, and requested him to continue his attendance.’ *Memoirs* ut supra, p. 101, 102.

[D] Bielfeld informs us, that ‘About one in the afternoon, ‘he sent for counsellor Ellert, his first physician, and asked him,

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‘ if

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III.

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1740.

cessor ⁴⁵, in the fifty-second year of his age. Before his death, he had several conferences with the prince-royal on the affairs of government [E], and on these occasions testified great regard for his son. He left behind him a paper, addressed to his son, containing directions for his funeral [F].

THE

* if he thought that his life and his sufferings could continue long, and if the agonies of his last moments would be great. The physician answered, *Your majesty is already arrived at that period. I feel the pulse retire; it now beats below your elbow.* The king said, *Where will it retire at last?* The doctor replied, *To the heart: and in about an hour it will cease to beat at all.* On which the king said, with perfect resignation, *God's will be done.* Letters, vol. III. p. 127, 128.

⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 118, 128.

[E] Dr. Johnson informs us, that the king laid several injunctions upon the prince, 'of which one was to perpetuate the tall regiment by continual recruits, and another to receive his espoused wife. The prince gave him a respectful answer, but wisely avoided to diminish his own right or power by an absolute promise, and the king died uncertain of the fate of the tall regiment.' Memoirs, p. 102. But Bielfeld says, 'It is affirmed, that the late king proved to his son, by an exact calculation, a short time before his death, that his majesty might maintain ten thousand more men, and a superb opera at Berlin, for the expence that his tall regiment of Potsdam had alone cost him.' Letters, vol. III. p. 164.

[F] This paper contains some particulars, which are well suited to the singularity of FREDERICK WILLIAM's character. He says, 'My intention is, that after I am dead, they wash my body, put me on a clean shirt, and extend me on a table of wood; and that after having shaved me, and made me very clean, they cover me with a cloth, and leave me in that situa-

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

67

THE death of FREDERICK WILLIAM was so far from being regretted, that it appears to have excited

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‘tion about four hours; at the end of which time they shall
‘open my body, in the presence of lieutenant-general Boden-
‘broeck, of colonel Derschau, of colonel Einsiedel, of major
‘Bredow, the captains Pritz and Hacken, the surgeon-major
‘of my regiment, and my valet de chambre. That they then
‘examine carefully what shall have been the cause of my death.—
‘After this they shall wash me again, as clean as possible, and
‘put me on my best uniform, and lay me in that coffin which
‘is not adorned; after which they shall leave me there all night.’

‘The soldiers of my regiment shall have new clothes, hats,
‘and every thing belonging to them. Captain Lang, and the
‘other supernumerary officers and soldiers, as well as the six
‘subalterns of the second and third battalions, and all the
‘supernumeraries, shall mount the guard that day in the city.

‘The next day they shall assemble my regiment, which shall
‘form its battalions in the following manner. The first bat-
‘talion shall face the castle, its right wing extending to the river,
‘where the walls begin; the second battalion shall be on the
‘left hand of it; and the third behind that. They shall be all
‘complete, and every grenadier shall have three cartridges.
‘Every colour shall have a crape tied to it, and the drums shall
‘be covered with black cloth; and the fifes and hautboys shall
‘also have crape about them. Every officer shall have a crape in
‘his hat, another about his arm, and their scarfs shall be also
‘covered with crape.

‘The mourning coach, which shall be taken out of my stables
‘at Berlin, shall be conducted to the foot of the great stairs;
‘the horses shall have their heads turned towards the river; and
‘eight captains of my regiment shall put me into the coach:
‘after which they shall go and take their posts again. The
‘same captains shall take me out of the coach, when the funeral
‘pomp is arrived before the church.’

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cited an high degree of joy among his subjects; and the rather, on account of the great expectations that were formed of his successor. The new king, however, at least put on some appearance of grief; for when M. Bielfeld was first introduced to him, after his accession, he seemed quite dejected, and said to him, with tears in his eyes, ' You do not know what I have lost in losing my father.' Bielfeld replied, ' It is true, Sire; but I know very well what you have gained, in getting a kingdom. Your loss is great; but your motives

' The eight captains I have mentioned shall carry my body into the church, through the door by which I used to enter. I would have the best of my swords for service laid on the coffin, my best scarf, with the best *dragonne* I have, a pair of spurs, and a gilt head-piece. There are some of them to be found in the arsenal at Berlin. After the captains shall have set me down in the church, near my tomb, the hautboys shall play, and Ludowick, the master of my chapel, shall play on the organ; and the eight captains, in the mean time, shall return into their ranks. There will be found some, among my general officers, who will pay me the last duties, and put me into my vault.

' They will take care to bring from Berlin, twenty-four field-pieces, six pounders each, which shall make twelve successive discharges; then the battalions shall begin to fire one after another, and the artillery shall re-commence its fire.'

' The generals, all the officers of my regiment, and others who shall assist at this ceremony, shall have a supper that night, and the entertainment shall be made in the great hall. I desire they may be treated well, and that the best cask of Rhenish wine in my cellars be broached, and that they drink none but good wine in general that night.' *Hist. of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick William, p. 517—520.*

'for consolation are very powerful.' The king smiled ⁴⁷; and, as a proof that he was not inconsolable, a few days after, before the funeral of his father, held a lodge of free-masons [G].

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FREDERICK III. [H] was extremely popular among his subjects, on his accession to the throne.

When

⁴⁷ Letters, vol. III. p. 139, 140.

[G] Bielfeld, in a letter dated June 20, 1740, says, 'The king has publicly declared himself a free-mason; and, a few days since, his majesty held a very illustrious lodge. I made the necessary preparations, and acted as principal overseer: the king himself being in the chair. The curiosity of all the court was very strongly excited. We received their highnesses Prince William, the margrave Charles, and the duke of Holstein, who were all highly charmed with being of our order.' Vol. III. p. 145.

As it soon became generally known, that the king of Prussia was a free mason, some of the members of that fraternity afterwards endeavoured, without any other pretensions, to obtrude themselves upon his notice, by signifying to him that they were members of that society. But they met with no countenance from him, unless they were in other respects men of merit. Accordingly we are told, that a free-mason having endeavoured to intrude himself on the king, merely by virtue of that connexion, Frederick took no notice of him. But the man enforced his application by making the king a sign; which his majesty answered, "by turning his back upon his brother-mason, and "lifting up the hind flap of his coat," *Notes to Bielfeld, ut supra*, p. 39.

[H] He is sometimes stiled FREDERICK II. his father, FREDERICK WILLIAM, in that case, not being included in the list of FREDERICKS. But, by the same rule, he also might be distinguished from the first king of Prussia, by being denominated

CHAP. When he appeared in public, the shouts of ap-
 III. plause were incessant. He resided at Charlotten-
 A. D. bourg [1], a palace about a league distant from
 1740. Berlin, till the interment of his father, the ceremonies of which were conducted by the famous baron Pollnitz. The concourse of people at Charlottenbourg to see the new king was so great, and the houses of every kind so much crowded, that it was not without extreme difficulty that common necessities could be obtained, or the meanest accommodations. There was, indeed, at this period, a great scarcity of provisions throughout the king-

CHARLES FREDERICK, by which name he was baptized; and he has also been stiled FREDERICK CHARLES. In this country, however, in almost all historical productions, he has generally been denominated FREDERICK III. and, therefore, I have thought it best in this work to retain that appellation. The fact is, that as there have been several electors of Brandenburg, and kings of Prussia, named Frederick, and some of whom had also other additions to their names, this has occasioned somewhat of confusion in their history. Thus Frederick, the first king of Prussia, generally stiled Frederick I. is, in the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, repeatedly stiled Frederick III. he being the third elector of that name.

[1] The palace of CHARLOTTENBURG was built by Frederick I. but very much neglected by his successor Frederick William. Bielfeld says, that the situation of this palace, 'on the banks of the Sprey, is charming; the castle is large and stately; the gardens are very extensive, and disposed in a taste of elegance and magnificence; and the town, though not enclosed, is handsomely built.' The apartments of the palace are splendid, and richly furnished; and there is a gallery of pictures, some of which are pieces of great merit.

dom,

dom, occasioned by the uncommon rigour of the preceding winter, which had nearly exhausted all the private granaries. Frederick, therefore, on the second day after his accession, ordered the public store-houses to be opened, and corn to be distributed to the people at a moderate price ⁴⁸. He also ordered the magistrates of the several districts of his dominions, to be very attentive to the relief of the poor; and directed, that if the funds established for that purpose were not sufficient, the deficiency should be supplied out of the revenues of the crown ⁴⁹.

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FREDERICK WILLIAM was interred at Potsdam [K] on the 26th of June, 1740. Of the funeral procession,

⁴⁸ Bielfeld, p. 144.

⁴⁹ Johnson's Memoirs, ut supra, p. 104.

[K] In former notes, as well as in the text, sundry observations have been made respecting this prince's character, which appears to have been singularly curious; and I shall, therefore, here add some farther particulars concerning him. He was extremely attentive to public business. His son says, that he 'established, in every province, a college of justice, and another of finances, both subordinate to the ministers. The ministers for foreign affairs, with those of justice, and of the finances, made their report daily to the king, who definitively decided every thing laid before him. During the whole of his reign, there did not appear the most trifling ordinance that was not of his signing, nor the most trifling instruction that was not of his drawing up.' *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, vol. II. p. 155.

Frederick William contributed much more to enable his son Frederick III. to make the great figure that he afterwards did,

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procession, in which the new king walked in person, the following particulars are related by Bielfeld.

than has been generally apprehended. A sensible and well informed writer says, that ‘ During the reign of Frederick William, surnamed the *Great Elector*, the House of Brandenburg began to make a distinguished figure in Europe. His son Frederick, the first king of Prussia, seemed to be more desirous of supporting the pomp of royalty, than of cultivating the true means of increasing the splendour of his house. Frederick William, his successor, advanced with gigantic steps in the road his grandfather, the great elector, had marked out for him. He formed a military system till then unknown in Europe. He established that discipline, which every other power has been striving to imitate, and that mechanism, if we may so call it, by which every part of it is so firmly connected. The judicious discernment of this prince made him sensible, that the power of the house of Brandenburg would for a long time be precarious; and that a numerous and well disciplined army could alone constitute its basis and support. His politics, therefore, were founded wholly on strength, and his government became altogether military.’ *Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia*, p. 1, 2.

Of the person of Frederick William, in 1739, the following description is given by Bielfeld. ‘ If we judge by his portraits, he was in his youth perfectly handsome; but it must be confessed, that he does not now retain any traces of beauty. His eyes are indeed lively, but his looks are frightful; his complexion is composed of a mixture of high red, blue, yellow, and green; his head is large, his neck is quite sunk between his shoulders, and his figure is short and gross.’ *Letters*, vol. III. p. 67.

Another writer says, ‘ This monarch was of a middling height, but extraordinarily thick; he had a lively eye, full face, large forehead, a very handsome mouth and nose, and well made

feld. 'The procession began about eleven in the forenoon. A detachment of the late king's regiment

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'made leg, and spoke very much through the nose. His head was very large, and he wore a wig, whose sides were short, and curled into one single buckle, which increased the natural largeness of his face. He was in continual exercise, to prevent the natural consequences of his excessive fatness. He piqued himself on being a good physiognomist, and when he perceived any one confounded at his presence, concluded he had a bad conscience. He was never mistaken with regard to foreigners, whom he distinguished at the first sight from Prussians; and when he saw one, informed himself exactly of every thing concerning him.

'The best way to have his approbation on these occasions, was to look full on him, to make few or no bows, and answer him without hesitation. He often asked questions; as much to divert himself, as out of curiosity. I remember one day at Potsdam, a Gascon, a comb-maker by profession, who had left France on account of religion, and came to Berlin to seek for work, stood to see the great grenadiers at Potsdam, as he passed through that place, perform their exercise. The king, who perceived him, came up him, and asked him who he was, whither he came from, whither he was going, &c. to which the Gascon answered, calling his majesty always *Sir*. Upon this an officer drew near him, and told him he was speaking to the king. *Tell that to others*, replied the Gascon; *what do kings wear spatterdashies?* The king laughed heartily at the man's simplicity; and was much less shocked at such an answer, than he would have been at the airs of a *petit-maitre*, or a coat with sleeves after the French fashion.' *Hist. of Prussia, ut supra*, p. 521, 522.

Frederick William was rigorous, even to extreme cruelty, in his punishment of offenders. This appeared on sundry occasions. It is said, that some years before his death he had formed the design

CHAP. 'ment came first; then came all the domestics of
 III. 'that monarch in deep mourning; grooms, coach-
 A. D. 'men,
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design of abdicating his crown, and retiring to the Hague. Bielfeld informs us, that in the 'treaty of partition, which he 'made with the prince of Orange, for the succession of William 'III. of England, he expressly reserved the palace at the Hague, 'called the Old Court, and the pleasure castle of Honslardiek. 'It was there that he proposed to finish his days in retirement, 'and see his son hold the reins of government. This idea re- 'vived in his mind towards the close of his life. The day before 'his death, he sent for M. von Podewills, minister for foreign 'affairs, to Berlin; and, in effect, abdicated the crown, in the 'presence of the prince of Anhalt, and several others. He 'moreover ordered that minister to notify this abdication, the 'same evening, to all the courts of Europe, and make the troops 'take the oath of fidelity. Providence, however, rendered this 'step unnecessary, by taking the sick monarch a few hours after 'from this world, and putting the scepter into the hands of his 'son, by the more natural way, the right of 'succession.' Letters, vol. III. p. 133, 134.

Count ALGAROTTI visited the Prussian dominions in 1739, as has been already mentioned in the text; and, in a letter to lord Hervey, written at that time, he gives some account of Frederick William, and his tall regiment. Speaking of Potsdam, which he styles 'the military noviciate of Prussia,' he says, 'It is the garrison of that superb regiment, which, for the com- 'eliness and stature of the soldiers, may be called the flower of 'the human race. It is composed of, including the supernu- 'meraries, four thousand giants, of all religions, and all countries. 'Yet there is not among them either schism or controversy. 'Means have been found to turn their attention solely to evolu- 'tions, and other military exercises, and to make all their pre- 'tensions center in excelling therein. To see a single soldier 'perform his exercise, through a multiplying glass, and to see 'this

men, footmen, hunters, valet de chambres, and
 pages. These were followed by the deputies of
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this regiment perform it, is precisely the same thing, for
 regularity and justness of time. Many even think, that, in the
 handling of their arms, they are subject to minutenesses, which,
 though they have a fine effect upon the parade, are very useless
 in a day of battle.

The prince of Anhalt, who distinguished himself so greatly
 in the battle of Turin, is the institutor of this rigorous dis-
 cipline. However, this regiment of giants is always under the
 eye of their master; it is he who is properly their commander.
 He even takes that title, having done us the honour to tell us,
 that we should dine, not at the table of a King, but at that of
 a Colonel. It must be allowed, that he acquits himself of the
 functions of one with the greatest exactness. His regiment is
 the principal object of his thoughts, and for it alone he gives
 into profusion.—Every morning, whatever the weather be, he
 goes to see it mount guard, and seems always to behold it for
 the first time. It is then that he gives audience, and admits
 foreigners to his presence. Accordingly it has been said of
 him, that the earth is the floor of his anti-chamber, and the
 sky its cieling. In some countries, the breed of dogs is lessen-
 ed by people who deal in them. Here, to have soldiers, the
 breed of men is enlarged. To this end, the tallest women that
 can be found are sought for throughout the kingdom, to
 match them with the giants at Potsdam; and in the marriages
 of their children, the proportion of sizes is observed, as much
 as possible. If a girl be a hand higher than common, the king
 pays her portion.

Besides his superb regiment of guards, this prince keeps
 upwards of seventy thousand men, who, without being so tall,
 are all cast in the same mould, and form the most brilliant
 troops that it is possible to see. The arsenals of Stettin, Mag-
 deburgh, and Wesel, his most important places, are, as well

as

CHAP. ' the tribunals of justice, the chambers of finances,
 III. ' and of all the courts, as well of the provinces as
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' as those of Berlin, in the best condition, and furnished with a
 ' numerous artillery. The horses destined for military service
 ' are trained to it long beforehand, and distributed in the several
 ' provinces, where they do not remain idle; and where they are
 ' kept always ready to change the works of Ceres for those of
 ' Mars.'

' Though the department of war is his principal occupation,
 ' and all that surrounds him is military, his cares do not the less
 ' extend to the other parts of government. His finances are
 ' regulated with the most perfect œconomy. People talk every
 ' where of his treasure; a stagnant humour in the body politic,
 ' according to the merchant; and the life of the state, in the
 ' opinion of the troops; who see nothing comparable to a mili-
 ' tary chest. At Berlin, a vast apartment, adjoining to the royal
 ' treasury, is full of tables, chairs, branches, candlesticks, lamps,
 ' and balustrades of silver. Every thing there is of that metal, as
 ' formerly in the palaces of the kings of Mexico.

' He has re-peopled the territories which he possesses in Prussia
 ' and Lithuania, heretofore ravaged by the plague, by sending
 ' thither colonies purchased in the Catholic countries of Ger-
 ' many, where the Protestants have not the free exercise of their
 ' religion. He has likewise established breeds of horses, which
 ' are now in high repute. Potsdam owes to him almost the
 ' whole of its existence. Among other things, he has built there
 ' a church for his soldiers, in which is his intended tomb, sup-
 ' ported, on the right hand and on the left, by Mars and Bel-
 ' lona, who had not for a long time before made their appearance
 ' in any of our temples.

' He has likewise increased Berlin by more than half; and the
 ' new suburb, or rather the new city which he has added to it,
 ' is called, from the name of its founder, Williamstadt.—
 ' Agriculture is not the least of his cares. In the same manner,

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‘ the city. Next came the deputies of the grand
‘ directory, and then the ministers of state of all
‘ the departments; and these were followed by the
‘ great officers of the crown, each of whom bore,
‘ on a cushion of purple velvet laced and fringed
‘ with gold, one of the ensigns of royalty; count
‘ Schwerin, in quality of hereditary great chamber-
‘ lain, bore the scepter; and in like manner the
‘ rest. All the counsellors, ministers, generals, and
‘ great officers, were followed each one by his do-
‘ mestics in state liveries; which altogether com-
‘ posed an immense train, and afforded a superb
‘ sight. At last came the funeral chariot, drawn
‘ by eight horses with long black coverings. The
‘ coffin was uncovered. The canopy was support-
‘ ed by twelve major-generals, and the four ends,
‘ with their tassels, by four lieutenant-generals.
‘ Immediately after the chariot came mareschal
‘ Schwerin, bearing the great banner, and sup-
‘ ported by two generals. Behind this banner, at
‘ some distance, walked the king, supported by
‘ the old reigning prince of Anhalt Dessau, and

‘ as the czar sent young gentlemen into foreign countries, to
‘ learn there politeness, or maritime affairs, the king of Prussia
‘ sends them into the country, there to study plowing, and the
‘ manner of cultivating land. Accordingly this art, the most
‘ important of all, encouraged and honoured by the sovereign,
‘ makes here considerable progress.’ Letters from Count Alga-
rotti to Lord Hervey and the Marquis Scipio Maffei, vol. II.

P. 23—32.

‘ the

CHAP. ' the duke of Holstein Beck, both mareschals. His
 III. ' majesty was followed by at least five hundred of-
 A. D. ' ficers, generals, and others, who all marched in
 1740. ' ranks, and kept their lines like foldiers. The
 ' diversity of their uniforms, and the great number
 ' of these officers, all of noble families, afforded
 ' the most grand and brilliant sight I have ever
 ' seen. After the officers came the prince of Prussia,
 ' supported by the hereditary prince Leopold of
 ' Anhalt and the prince of Zerbst. Then came
 ' prince Henry, the king's second brother, sup-
 ' ported by prince Thierry of Anhalt, and the
 ' young prince of Holstein; and then prince Fer-
 ' dinand, the king's youngest brother, supported
 ' by the princes Eugene and Maurice of Anhalt;
 ' and lastly, the margraves van Schwedt, Henry,
 ' Charles, and William, as princes of the blood,
 ' supported by lieutenant-generals. All the princes
 ' and noblemen were in the deepest mourning, with
 ' trailing cloaks, and long crapes in their hats.
 ' Each of them was attended by their livery ser-
 ' vants. The other generals followed after, two
 ' and two, and a second detachment of the late
 ' king's regiment closed the train ⁵⁰.'

THE very next day after the funeral of his father, Frederick disbanded the regiment of tall guards at Potsdam ⁵¹; but many of the men were incorpo-

⁵⁰ Letters, vol. III, p. 158, 159, 160.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 163.

rated into other regiments [L]. He applied him-
self

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[L] Bielfeld says, 'The king has picked some of the finest men to incorporate with his regiment of Ruppín, which now bears the name of guards, and his majesty has augmented it to three battalions. The men who are the tallest, and the least well made, are set apart to form a battalion, which is to be commanded by general Einsiedel, and which is to remain in garrison at Potsdam, and constantly to preserve the same uniform, arms, and exercise, as the regiment of the late king. Twelve subaltern officers, all men of extraordinary stature, have been chosen to serve in the king's livery as heydukes. These giants, clothed in castans, a sort of Turkish robe, and having on their heads high caps, with plumes of feathers, resemble walking colossuses. The rest of this great regiment will be incorporated with the five regiments of infantry, each of two battalions, which his majesty is now raising, and which they say are destined for prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and the generals Munchow, Cammas, and Perfode.' Letters, vol. III. p. 163, 164.

Voltaire informs us, that after the death of Frederick William, the new king gave some of these tall soldiers to the queen, his wife, to serve in quality of heydukes. 'I remember,' says he, 'they accompanied the old state coach, which preceded the marquis de Beauvau, who came to compliment the new king, in the month of November, 1740. The late king, Frederick William, who had formerly sold all the magnificent furniture left by his father, never could find a purchaser for that enormous ungilt coach. The heydukes, who walked on each side to support it, in case it should fall, shook hands with each other over the roof.' Memoirs, p. 18, 19.

Bielfeld, soon after his first arrival at Berlin, having viewed Frederick William's tall regiment, both at church, and on the parade, makes the following observations: 'Never did I find myself so diminutive, as in the midst of these devout giants. Whenever they stood up at their prayers, I thought myself a
' pigmy.

CHAP. self to the public business with great assiduity; and
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‘pigmy. I was obliged to hold my head back when I would
 ‘observe their physiognomies. The soldiers, as well as officers,
 ‘attended the divine service with great decency, and with an
 ‘air of much devotion. Mine, I must ingenuously confess,
 ‘was a little distracted by the novelty of the sight, and by cer-
 ‘tain reflexions which I could not forbear making. The church
 ‘appeared to me like a grand cabinet, where some curious mo-
 ‘narch had amassed a very extraordinary collection of men of
 ‘the tallest stature, from the four quarters of the world. Under
 ‘the pulpit I observed an iron grate, which closed the entrance
 ‘of a vault, where the king intends to be deposited after his de-
 ‘cease. I was surprized to see, at the sides of this grate, two
 ‘statues of white marble, that had the look of two centinels,
 ‘and which represented Mars and Bellona. It seemed strange
 ‘to me, to find two Heathen deities in a Christian church.
 ‘When we came out of the church, they carried us to the pa-
 ‘rade, where we found a part of the garrison under arms. They
 ‘went through their exercise with an exactness, which surpasses
 ‘all that has been said of them. To form an idea of it, it is
 ‘necessary to see it; and I protest to you, that, since the de-
 ‘luge, I do not think there has been on the earth a troop of
 ‘warriors, that made so marvellous an appearance, and of so
 ‘extraordinary a stature, and that performed their exercise with
 ‘so much dexterity.’ Letters, vol. III. p. 67, 68, 69.

Dr. Johnson, speaking of Frederick William, and his tall
 regiment, says, ‘To review this towering regiment was his
 ‘daily pleasure, and to perpetuate it so much his care, that when
 ‘he met a tall woman, he immediately commanded one of his
 ‘Titanian retinue to marry her, that they might propagate pro-
 ‘cerity, and produce heirs to the father’s habiliments.’ Me-
 moirs, ut supra, p. 96.

In his reviews of this tall regiment, Frederick William was
 frequently attended by the foreign ministers who happened to
 be at his court. On one of these occasions, when the ambassa-
 dors

sent three solemn embassies, to the emperor, to the king of France [M], and to the king of England ⁵².

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dors from France, Spain, and England, were present, the Prussian monarch is said to have asked the French minister, whether an equal number of his countrymen would engage with these gigantic foldiers. The Frenchman replied, that it was impossible that any men of moderate size could think of such an attempt. The same question was put to the Spanish minister, who made a similar reply. Frederick William afterwards asked the English ambassador, whether he thought that an equal number of his countrymen would beat them? 'I cannot, Sir,' said the English minister, 'take upon me to assert, that an equal number of my countrymen would beat them; but this, I think, I may venture to affirm, that half the number would try.'

Notwithstanding the attachment of Frederick William to his tall guards, it is probable, that they were not always very well treated; for fourteen of them at once had formed a scheme to desert; but their design was prevented by being discovered before its execution. *Hist. of Prussia, ut supra*, p. 311. Twelve more of them afterwards also formed a similar scheme; but that likewise was discovered. *Ibid.* p. 397.

⁵² Letters, vol. III. p. 146.

[M] By his ambassador to the court of France, he sent a present of wine to Voltaire, who has given a very ludicrous account of the circumstances with which his present was attended. 'He began his reign,' says he, 'by sending an ambassador extraordinary to France; one Camas, who had lost an arm, formerly a French refugee, and then an officer in the Prussian army. He said, that as there was a minister from the French court at Berlin, who had but one hand, he, that he might acquit himself of all obligation towards the most Christian king, had sent him an ambassador with only one arm. Camas, as soon as he arrived safe at his inn, dispatched a lad to me, whom he had created his page, to tell me that he was too much fa-

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Great generosity was expected from him, on his accession to the throne, by his courtiers and dependents; but these expectations were not much gratified. He did, however, confer some offices, and make some presents; and he instituted a new order of knighthood, called THE ORDER OF MERIT; the professed design of which was to reward the merit of persons either in arms or arts, without distinction of birth, religion, or country. The king was constituted sovereign, and the number of knights unlimited. The ensign was to be a cross of eight points, enamelled blue, and edged with gold, having in the center a cypher of the letters *F. R.* and in each angle a black eagle displayed; on the two upper points the regal crown of Prussia; on the reverse, the motto *POUR LE MERITE*.

FREDERICK declined the ceremony of a coronation; but this was not from humility. Baron

‘tighed to come to my house, and therefore begged I would
‘come to him instantly, he having the finest, greatest, and most
‘magnificent present that ever was presented, to make me on the
‘part of the king his master. Run—run as fast as you can,
‘said madame du Chatelet, he has assuredly sent you the dia-
‘monds of the crown. Away I ran, and found my ambassa-
‘dor, whose only baggage was a small keg of wine, tied behind
‘his chaise, sent from the cellar of the late king by the reign-
‘ing monarch, with a royal command for me to drink. I
‘emptied myself in protestations of astonishment and gratitude
‘for these *liquid* marks of his majesty’s bounty, instead of the
‘*solid* ones I had been taught to expect, and divided my keg
‘with Camas.’ *Memoirs*, p. 33, 34, 35.

Bielfeld has explained the matter. He says, 'Fre-
 'derick, the first king of Prussia, had good rea-
 'sons for *submitting* to that ceremony; but his suc-
 'cessors receive the crown from the hands of Pro-
 'vidence, and not from their subjects. They con-
 'tent themselves with administering the oath of
 'fidelity to the troops, to the nobility, and to the
 'people [N]. Mess. Dacier, medallists at Geneva,
 ' have

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[N] The pride of hereditary royalty thus assumed by a family, who were but just become possessed of it, is somewhat amusing: Frederick William, though only the second king of Prussia, also declined being crowned, "thinking," as his son says, "that this idle ceremony suited *elective* better than *hereditary* princes." According to baron Pollnitz, it was a very trifling circumstance which occasioned the elevation of Prussia to the rank of a kingdom. 'Great events,' says he, 'commonly have their source in trifles: This was owing to nothing more than the refusal of the prince of Orange, who was king of England, to give an arm-chair to the elector, in a conference between those two princes at the Hague, in 1695. The elector could not bear that the prince of Orange, who had always been his inferior, should carry it to him in such a lofty manner, after fortune had raised him to the throne of England; and from that time he resolved to be a king too.' *Memoirs*, vol. IV. p. 11.

In consequence of this grievous refusal of William III. of England to allow the elector of Brandenburg an arm-chair, a negotiation was immediately set on foot to prevail on the emperor, and the other princes of Europe, to consent that ducal Prussia should be erected into a kingdom, and that the elector of Brandenburg should be acknowledged as king of Prussia. Many difficulties were started, and the elector's chief minister strongly persuaded him not to persist in this project. 'But

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' have just struck a very fine and large medal,
' which corresponds with this idea. It is in
bronze;

' the elector,' says Pollnitz, ' had the refusal of the arm-chair
' too much at heart, to hearken to any reasons that could be
' brought against his design, and sent Danckelman, his minist-
' ter's brother, to Vienna, to impart to the emperor the scheme
' which he had formed to erect Prussia into a kingdom.'

After many negotiations, a variety of political intrigues,
and much evasion and delay, the project at length succeeded,
and the emperor consented to it on several conditions, two of
which were, that " the elector should never withdraw from the
" empire the provinces of his dominions thereon depending;"
and that " in the emperor's presence he should require no other
" distinctions than those which he before enjoyed." The king
of England, and several other princes of Europe, concurred
in this measure: but prince Eugene, foreseeing that it would
not be favourable to the imperial dignity, declared, that " the
" emperor ought to have hanged the minister, who gave the
" pernicious advice of consenting to the erection of this up-
" start royalty."

Frederick I. was crowned king of Prussia, at Königsberg,
on the 18th of January, 1701. The ceremony was performed
with extraordinary magnificence, and all the persons concerned
in it went through their parts with great exactness. One irre-
gularity only was committed, which Pollnitz has recorded.
' The queen herself,' says he, ' was the only person that got a
' reprimand, and that was by her taking some snuff. Her
' throne being over-against the king's, she watched a long time
' for an opportunity, and when she thought his majesty did not
' observe her, she stole out her snuff-box. The king happening
' to turn his eyes towards her the very same moment, she would
' fain have concealed it; but his majesty's countenance was so
' fixed on her, that she was convinced he perceived it; and in-
' deed this prince, who was upon this occasion not to be trifled

' with,

FREDERICK THE THIRD.

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‘bronze; on one side is seen the bust of the
‘king, with the usual inscription, *Fredericus II.*
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‘with, immediately ordered one of his gentlemen who was be-
‘hind him, to go and ask the queen in his name, *Whether she*
‘*remembered the place where she was, and the rank she held there?*’

But though SOPHIA CHARLOTTE, the first queen of Prussia, was guilty of the high crime of taking snuff during the ceremony of the coronation, she was, notwithstanding, a very amiable princess. She was sister to George I. king of England, was beautiful in her person, loved music, was much attached to literature, and a great encourager of professors of the fine arts. She was well read in history, natural philosophy, and theology, and spoke most of the European languages with ease.

Her grandson, Frederick III, in his *Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg*, says of her, that ‘she was a princess of singular merit, in whom were joined all the charms of her sex, with the graces of wit, and the solidity of reason. In her younger days she had travelled into Italy and France, under the care of her relations. She was designed for the crown of France, Lewis XIV. having been struck with her beauty; but political reasons defeated this marriage. This princess brought along with her the spirit of sociability, true politeness, and the love of arts and sciences into Prussia. She founded the royal academy. She invited Leibnitz, and several other learned men to her court; her curiosity leading her to inquire into the first principles of things. One day, as she pressed Leibnitz very hard upon this subject, this philosopher replied to her, “Madam, there is no possibility of satisfying you: you want to know the why and the wherefore.” Charlottenburg (where she resided) was the rendezvous of the people of taste; and the great variety of diversions and entertainments contrived to render this abode delightful, and the court most splendid. Sophia Charlotte had a great and noble soul: her religion was pure, her temper sweet, and her mind was im-

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‘ *Rex Borruſſiæ*; and on the exergue, his majeſty’s motto, *Pro patria & pro gloria*. The reverſe re-
‘ preſents the city of Königsberg, over which is

‘ proved by the reading of good books both in French and Ita-
‘ lian. She died at Hanover among her own relations. They
‘ wanted to introduce a Calviniſt miniſter into her apartment;
‘ but ſhe ſaid to them, “ Let me die in peace, without diſpu-
‘ ting.” Upon this occaſion one of the ladies of honour,
‘ whom ſhe was very fond of, was diſſolved in tears. “ Do
‘ not cry for me, ſays ſhe, for I am going now to ſatisfy my
‘ curioſity on the principles of things, which Leibnitz could
‘ not explain to me, on ſpace, infinity, on being, on nothing;
‘ and I am preparing for the king my huſband the ſhew of my
‘ funeral, where he will have another opportunity to diſplay
‘ his magnificence.”

Pollnitz ſays, that ‘ M. de la Bergerie, the miniſter of the
‘ French church, who aſſiſted her in her laſt moments, was ſo
‘ ſurprized at her courage and calmneſs, that he was more at-
‘ tentive to hear her than to exhort her. “ I have,” ſaid ſhe,
‘ for twenty years ſeriouſly ſtudied my religion, and have read
‘ the books that treated of it with too much application to
‘ be in any doubt as to my principles. You cannot mention
‘ any thing to me but what I have read, and what you can ſay
‘ to me will certainly add nothing to my opinion.”

She died at Hanover, on a viſit to her mother, the electreſs
of Hanover, on the firſt of February, 1705, in the 37th year
of her age. Her body was conveyed to Berlin, where it was
interred with great magnificence. This princeſs had formed
ideas of government ſo equitable, and ſo extremely different
from thoſe which prevailed in Pruſſia, that ſhe was often ſtilled
by the Germans THE REPUBLICAN QUEEN. Her unamiab-
le ſon, FREDERICK WILLIAM, of whom ſo much has been ſaid
both in the text and in the notes, ſeems to have derived none
of his ideas of government from his amiable mother.

‘an eagle with extended wings, and these words, *CHAP.*
Rex natura ⁵³.’ *III.*
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IN a few days after his accession Frederick had written to M. SUHM, assuring him, that his change of title had made no alteration in his sentiments, and that he earnestly wished him to quit his present situation at Petersburgh, and to come and reside with him. ‘I can now,’ says he, ‘tell you in a positive manner, that your being with me depends only on yourself, and that I only wait to know your resolution, and in what situation you will choose to be placed. It will be a great consolation, in the affliction that I am under on account of the death of my father, to find with me a friend that I love and esteem. Use your endeavours to engage on my behalf M. EULER, the great algebraist [o]; and, if you can, bring him

⁵³ Letters, vol. III, p. 193.

[o] LEONARD EULER was born at Basil, on the 14th of April, 1707. His father, Paul Euler, who was a country clergyman, intended him for his own profession, and himself initiated him in some branches of learning, particularly the mathematicks. He was afterwards sent to the university of Basil, where he regularly attended the different professors. As he had a prodigious memory, he performed his academical exercises with great rapidity; and the time which he thereby gained was dedicated to geometry, which soon became his favourite study. The ardour with which he applied himself to the mathematicks, and the progress that he made, excited the notice and attention of professor John Bernouilli, who was at that time one of the first mathematicians in Europe, and of whom in a short time he became the favourite pupil. But as the occupations of Bernouilli

CHAP. 'him with you. I will give him a pension of a
 III.
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 1740. king

nouilli would not admit of his giving so much of his time to his indefatigable pupil as Euler desired, he appointed one day in the week for removing the difficulties, which his disciple had met with in perusing the works of the most profound mathematicians. In 1723, M. Euler took the degree of master of arts, and delivered on that occasion a Latin discourse, in which he drew a comparison between the philosophy of Newton and the Cartesian system, which was received with great applause. At the desire of his father, he afterwards applied himself to the study of theology, and the oriental languages. Though these studies were not agreeable to his prevailing taste, his success was considerable even in this line; but, with his father's permission, he returned again to geometry, as his principal object.

He continued to avail himself of the counsels and instructions of M. Bernouilli, and contracted an intimate friendship with his two sons, Nicholas and Daniel. They were invited to the academy of sciences at Petersburg in 1725; and by their recommendation he afterwards obtained an establishment in it. In the mean time, he addicted himself closely to the study of physiology, to which he made a happy application of his mathematical knowledge. But this study did not wholly engross his time; he applied his mind to other branches of natural science; and in 1727, published a *Dissertation on the nature and propagation of sound*. He was soon after invited to Petersburg, and made joint-professor with his countrymen, Mess. Hermann and Daniel Bernouilli, in the university of that city. He speedily enriched the academical collection with many Memoirs, which excited a noble emulation between him and Daniel Bernouilli; and this emulation they always continued, without either degenerating into a selfish jealousy, or producing the least

⁵⁴ Letters, vol. III. p. 114, 115.

king also gave M. Suhm directions about the immediate payment of the debts, that he had contracted

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alteration in their friendship. It was at this time that he carried to new degrees of perfection the integral calculus, invented the calculation of sinusses, reduced analytical operations to a greater simplicity, and thus was enabled to throw new light on various branches of mathematical science.

In 1730, he was promoted to the professorship of natural philosophy; and in 1733, he succeeded his friend Daniel Bernouilli in the mathematical chair. In 1735, a problem was proposed by the academy, which required expedition, and for the solution of which several eminent mathematicians had required the space of some months. The problem was solved by Euler in three days, to the great astonishment of the academy; but the violent and laborious efforts that it cost him threw him into a fever, which endangered his life, and deprived him of the use of his right eye.

The academy of sciences at Paris, which, in 1738, had adjudged the prize to his *Memoir concerning the nature and properties of fire*, proposed, for the year 1740, the important subject of the *sea-tides*, a problem the solution of which required the most arduous calculations, and comprehended the theory of the solar system. Euler's discourse on this question was judged a master-piece of analysis and geometry; and he shared the academical prize with those great mathematicians Colin Maclaurin and Daniel Bernouilli.

Soon after the accession of Frederick the Third to the throne of Prussia, he accepted of the invitation that was made to him by that monarch, and repaired to Berlin, where he enriched the *Melanges* of the Prussian academy with five memoirs, which make an eminent figure in that collection. These were followed, with extraordinary rapidity, by many other important papers, which were published in the *Memoirs* of the Prussian academy, the first volume of which was printed in the year 1746.

These

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tracted for him in Russia, and of which mention has been made in the preceding chapter.

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These labours of Euler will excite the more surprize, if it be considered, that while he was enriching the academy of Berlin with a great number of valuable and important memoirs, on the deepest parts of mathematical science, he did not discontinue his philosophical contributions to the academy of Petersburg, which granted him a pension in 1742, and whose memoirs display the astonishing fertility of Euler's genius. In 1747, he published a paper on the different dispersion of the rays of light, as independent of their different refrangibility; which gave rise to an important improvement of Mr. Dolland's, in the construction of refracting telescopes. In the year 1766, he obtained, though not without great difficulty, permission from the king of Prussia to return to Petersburg, where he wished to pass the remainder of his days.

Soon after his return, which was liberally rewarded by the munificence of Catharine II. he was seized with a violent disorder, which terminated in the total loss of his sight. A cataract, formed in his left eye, which had been greatly injured by a too ardent application to study, entirely deprived him of the use of that organ. In this distressing situation, he dictated to his servant, who had been a taylor's apprentice, and was entirely destitute of mathematical knowledge, his *Elements of Algebra*. About this time he was honoured, by the academy of sciences at Paris, with the place of one of the foreign members of that learned body; and the academical prize was afterwards adjudged to three of his memoirs concerning the *Inequalities in the motions of the Planets*. The two prize questions, proposed by the same academy, for 1770 and 1772, were designed to obtain from the labours of astronomers a more perfect *Theory of the Moon*. M. Euler, assisted by his eldest son, was a competitor for these prizes, and obtained them both.

Some

THE letters written by Frederick to M. Suhm
 contained the strongest expressions of regard and
 affection

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Some time after this, the famous Wentzel, by couching the cataract, restored M. Euler's sight; but the satisfaction and joy that this successful operation produced, were of short duration. Some instances of negligence on the part of his surgeons, and his own impatience to use an organ, the cure of which was not completely finished, deprived him of his sight a second time; and this relapse was attended with extreme pain. Notwithstanding this misfortune, he still continued his labours. Neither the loss of his sight, nor the infirmities of advanced age, could damp the ardour of his genius. In 1773, he published, in two volumes, 4to. his *Theorie complete de la construction et de la manœuvre des vaisseaux*. This work was immediately translated into several languages, and the author received a present of six thousand livres from the French king. Three hundred pounds had before been given him by the parliament of England, for the theorems, by the assistance of which Meyer made his Lunar tables.

On the 7th of September, 1783, M. Euler was playing with one of his grand-children at tea-time, when he was seized with an apoplectic fit, which carried him off in a few hours, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. His works are very numerous, and he left behind him a great number of manuscripts on mathematical and physical subjects, many of which have been since published in the academical memoirs of Petersburg. He had an extraordinary memory, and could repeat the *Æneid* of Virgil, from the beginning to the end, without hesitation, and indicate the first and the last line of every page of the edition he used. He had great vivacity and cheerfulness of temper, and a high degree of integrity and humanity; to which were added, a sincere and rational piety, and a firm faith in the great truths of Christianity. He was twice married, and had thirteen children, four of whom only survived him; but from these

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affection for him; which seem to have been sincerely returned on the part of M. Suhm, though his letters were too much tinged with flattery. He appears, indeed, almost to have adored the prince, and to have placed all his hopes of happiness on his accession to the throne, and on entering into his service. He obtained leave to quit his station at Petersburg, and also an honourable dismissal from his own court, and set out on his journey to the court of his favourite prince. His health had for some time not been in a favourable state, and his journey made him worse; and, before he could reach the Prussian dominions, death put an end to all his flattering expectations. He died at Warsaw, from whence he wrote a very pathetic letter to the king, in which he recommended

these children he had thirty-eight grand-children, twenty-six of whom were alive in 1784. M. Nicholas Fufs, who had been one of his pupils, says, "It was a most pleasing and affecting spectacle to see the venerable old man, sitting like a patriarch in the midst of his numerous family, all zealous in rendering the evening of his life serene and agreeable, by every tender office, and mark of attention, that the warmest filial affection could suggest." Of his three sons, the eldest, M. I. A. Euler, became very eminent as a mathematician, and succeeded his father in the university of Petersburg; the second became physician to the empress of Russia; and the third entered into the army, where he obtained considerable preferment, and also distinguished himself by his astronomical observations. Vid. *Eloge de M. Leonard Euler, par N. Fufs*, ed. 4to. Berlin, 1784, and Monthly Review, vol. LXXIII. p. 496-503.

to his care his sister and his children, and for whom Frederick made a liberal provision.

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Soon after his accession, Frederick also wrote to VOLTAIRE, ROLLIN, and MAUPERTUIS; and he earnestly requested the latter to come to Berlin, in order to assist in the establishment of a new academy of sciences in that city. He likewise wrote to count ALGAROTTI, who, as I have before observed, had been introduced to him at Rheinsberg before his accession, and for whom he had conceived a great esteem, soliciting him in very strong terms to come to Berlin. The count accepted his invitation; and shortly after his arrival was appointed chamberlain to the king, and knight of the order of merit, with the title of privy-counsellor of war. These honours were also accompanied with some complimentary verses, which the king addressed to Algarotti on this occasion⁵⁵. He likewise wrote to WOLFUS, soliciting him to come and settle in his dominions; and as Wolfius was now in Sweden, and under obligations to the Swedish monarch, Frederick himself wrote to that prince to obtain his permission. Wolfius [P] then quitted Sweden, and repaired

to

⁵⁵ Life of count Algarotti, prefixed to the second edition of the English translation of his *Letters Military and Political*, p. 7, 8.

[P] CHRISTIAN WOLFUS, or WOLFF, was the son of a tradesman of Breslaw, the capital of Silesia, where he was born on the 24th of January, in the year 1679. He gave very early indications of an extraordinary capacity, and of a strong propensity

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to Halle, where he was very honourably received, being first made vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor

penfity to learning. His father, though engaged in trade, was not untinctured with literature; and from him he imbibed the principles of piety and virtue, and alfo received his firft in- ftructions in the Latin language. As he was intended by his father for the church, when he was about eight years of age, he was fent to the *Gymnafium*, or college, at Breffaw; where, under excellent mafters, he made a great progrefs, not only in languages, but in the fciences. From the divinity-lectures of Dr. Newman, of Breffaw, he firft came to fee the imperfections of the fchool philofophy, and to form the defign of one day improving philofophy, and rendering it more ufeul. He not only attended the divinity lectures of Dr. Newman, but alfo perufed, with great care, the theological fystems of feveral Lutheran divines, as well as of Calvinifts and Roman Catholics. But thefe ftudies did not prevent him from applying himfelf in fome degree to the mathematics; though he had no opportunity of making any great progrefs therein at Breffaw, as nothing but the ufe of the globes, and drawing geometrical figures, was taught there. By dint of clofe application, however, he made himfelf mafter of arithmetic and algebra, and acquired fome knowledge of geometry.

In 1699, he went to the univerfity of Jena, where he ftudied mathematics and natural philofophy under profeffor Hamberger. He alfo applied himfelf to jurisprudence and divinity. In 1704, he went to Leipfic, in order to take there his degree in philofophy; but he afterwards returned again to Jena, and applied himfelf to the ftudy of aftronomy. He alfo perufed with great care Barrow's Geometrical Lectures, and Nieuwentyt's *Analyfis Infinitorum*, and Elements of Algebra; and made a great progrefs in the mathematical fciences.

With a view to teach the mathematics he now repaired to Leipfic; and in order to obtain the privilege of reading lectures there,

chancellor of the university. He was also made a privy counsellor, and professor of the law of nature and nations.

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here, he defended a dissertation, which he had drawn up at Jena, entitled, *De Philosophia practica universali, methodo mathematica conscripta*. This was his first public attempt, but so excellent in its kind, that it obtained him great applause; and Otto Menkenius was so well pleased with it, that he took Wolfius as an assistant in publishing the *Acta Eruditorum*. As soon as he had obtained the privilege of holding public lectures, he immediately began to teach the mathematics; nor did he neglect the other sciences. He explained natural philosophy out of Sturmius, and took great pains in teaching logic and metaphysics in a better way than had been usually done: but his manner of teaching was in great part borrowed from Descartes.

In 1706, he was invited to the mathematical chair at Halle; he accepted the invitation; and taught the mathematics there for many years with general applause. In 1709, he published, in Latin, his *Aërometria*, a performance which procured him the honour of being elected a fellow of the royal society of London. The royal society of Berlin soon after followed the example, thinking it dishonourable to them, that foreigners should take notice of a man, whom they had themselves neglected. About this time he published his German Elements of the Mathematics, in four volumes, 8vo. and also his table of sines and tangents. In 1712, he published his "Logic, or Rational Thoughts on the powers of the Human Understanding, with their use and application in the knowledge and search of Truth." This was well received, and passed through many editions. An English translation was published of it, in 1770, by Mr. Alexander Macbean. His Logic was followed by his Latin Mathematical Elements, in two volumes, 4to. and he soon after printed his *Lexicon Mathematicum*. In 1718, he published a treatise on the true cause of the wonderful multiplication of corn; and the following

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THE accession of Frederick was celebrated by Voltaire, in an elegant poetical epistle which he addressed

the following year his "*Metaphysics*, or rational thoughts on God, the world, the soul of man, &c."

In 1721, he published his *Civil Philosophy*, or *Politics*; and the same year he pronounced, in the university, a Latin discourse on the morality of the Chinese, and their great philosopher Confucius. After bestowing many encomiums on the Chinese moral philosophy, he endeavoured to shew how similar its principles were to doctrines that he had himself advanced. This discourse gave so much offence to the theological faculty at Halle, that a great clamour was raised against him, his other works were formally examined, and a charge was exhibited against him at Berlin, of maintaining dangerous and heretical opinions. One article of accusation was, that he had asserted, that God, by one eternal and wise decree, had pre-ordained, and pre-determined all things. Dr. Lange wrote against him, and charged him with teaching a blind fatality. Frederick William himself was at length so incensed against him, that on the 8th of November, 1723, an order was sent to the university to strip Wolfius of all his honours and employments, and to command him, in forty-eight hours, to quit the king of Prussia's dominions, under pain of being hanged. He left Halle in about twelve hours after the orders for his expulsion arrived, taking leave but of very few of his friends, and leaving behind him his wife, big with child, and an only son, about a year old. He retired to Merseburg, in the territory of Saxony; and from thence removed to Cassel; after which he obtained the professorship of mathematics and philosophy, in the university of Marburg, with the title of counsellor to the landgrave of Hesse, to which a considerable pension was annexed. Here he re-assumed his labours with redoubled ardour, and here he published many of his pieces.

addressed to him; and in which he observed, that philosophy had nothing now to fear, because that
 Socrates

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His lectures at Marburg were attended by a great resort of students from all parts of Germany, from Switzerland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. He was strongly invited to accept of an establishment in Russia; and, though he declined it, he was declared an honorary professor of the academy of sciences at Petersburg, with a yearly appointment of three hundred dollars, which he enjoyed during life. In the mean time Frederick William, whose prejudices against him were removed, pressed him to return again into the Prussian dominions; but this he declined, till the accession of Frederick III. when he was reinstated at the university of Halle, with additional honours. In 1745, the elector of Bavaria, then administrator of the empire, raised Wolfius to the dignity of a baron. He died at Halle, of the gout in his stomach, on the 9th of April, 1754, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, after having composed in Latin and German more than sixty distinct pieces. Wolfius was married, in 1716, to a young lady of Halle, by whom he had two sons, one of whom survived him, and became baron Wolfius.

Wolfius possessed considerable talents, and was the author of many elaborate works; but his abilities, and the merit of his productions, appear to have been much over-rated by some of the German writers. By others, his writings have been accused of verbiage, and he has been censured for his bad Latin; and it has been said of him by one writer, that he has "overwhelmed the system of Leibnitz by a load of volumes, and by a deluge of words, arguments, corollaries, and citations." It appears, that Wolfius thought very highly of his own works, and expressed that opinion somewhat freely. He frequently refers to his own pieces; in the preface to the third edition of his Logic, he says, "I have always reckoned, that what this little book contains, is among the best things I know;" and

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Socrates was upon the throne, and truth reigned. Already, he said, from the virtues of Frederick, the neighbouring princes were all his allies; while his subjects were his children, and every honest man his brother. Frederick, he added, was a hero in every thing, because that in every thing he was just; and because he was sensible, that he would deserve the title of hero, in the eyes of wise men, more by his acts of beneficence, than by his warlike exploits. As on the present occasion Voltaire appeared in the character of a poet, he indulged himself a little in the poetical licence of dealing in fiction.

ABOUT this time the king of Prussia visited several parts of his dominions, and received the homage of his subjects. He then had a desire to view the frontiers and troops of France; and accordingly went *incognito* to Strasburgh, accompanied by his brother, the prince-royal, and by count Algarotti. He assumed the title of the count du Four, a nobleman of Bohemia, and his brother had also his travelling title; but Algarotti went by his real name ⁵⁶. They travelled in two coaches, and had but few attendants; but among these was Frederstorf, the king's first valet de chambre. When they came to Kehl, the landlord informed

in that treatise he also says, that " by his Experimental Essays
" in Philosophy, he had paved the way to a solid knowledge of
" nature and art."

⁵⁶ Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 36.

Freder-

Frederstorf, that count Four would have occasion for a passport, after he had crossed the bridge over the Rhine. Frederstorf drew one up, and the king signed it, and sealed it with the Prussian arms, which he had upon his seal. The landlord, whose curiosity had led him to watch his guests, saw what was done from an adjoining closet; and when Frederstorf came out of the room in which the king was, he said to him, "Count Four is the king of Prussia, Sir; I saw him sign his name." Frederstorf acknowledged to the landlord that he was right in his conjecture, and bribed him to keep the secret ⁵⁷.

WHEN they came to Strasburgh, the king and his brother put up at different inns, that they might be less liable to suspicion; and they provided themselves with French dresses. Towards evening the king went to the coffee-house, where he soon became acquainted with several officers, who appeared to be agreeable men, and whom he invited to sup with him at his inn. They readily accepted his invitation; saying to each other, "Come, let us go and see what this Bohemian count is made of." Frederick could at all times, when he pleased, render himself a very agreeable companion; and his new acquaintances remarked, that he had a great deal of wit for a German, and that he spoke very good French. As he had given them an excellent supper, the officers had so much

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⁵⁷ Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 229, 230.

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regard for their new friend, that they went again the next morning to drink chocolate with him; and one of them invited the king to sup with him in the evening, but this he found means to decline. After dinner he went on the parade, and there he is said to have been known by a soldier of the garrison, who had formerly served in the Prussian army, and who communicated the intelligence of the king's arrival to the governor of Strasburgh. Frederick visited the governor under his assumed title; but the governor gave him to understand that he knew him, at which the king was disgusted. He afterwards went to the French comedy, and then returned to sup at his inn. On the morning of the third day after his arrival, it was rumoured throughout the town, that the king of Prussia was at Strasburgh. A taylor, who had been employed to make him a suit of cloaths, refused to take any thing in payment; telling Fredericstorf, that he was satisfied with having had the honour to work for so great a monarch. A handsome present was, however, given him; and he was enjoined silence. The same day the king saw the citadel, and all the curiosities of Strasburgh: but in the evening bonfires were lighted in different parts of the city, and the people cried out in several places, "Long live the king of Prussia." The theatre was also crowded with spectators, who hoped that the king would have appeared again at the comedy; but they were disappointed ⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ Bielfeld, vol. III. p. 232.

THE original design of Frederick was, to have proceeded from Strasburg to Paris; but finding himself thus discovered, he changed his intentions, and set off early the next morning for Wefel. He wrote a letter to Voltaire, partly in prose, and partly in verse, containing a facetious account of his journey to Strasburgh; and in which he took some notice of the knavery of inn-keepers, and the great expences of his journey. Voltaire afterwards remarked, that it appeared from this letter, that Frederick's philosophy "did not look with "total indifference on the metal, of which his "father had made such ample provision ⁵⁹."

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VOLTAIRE was at this time at Brussels; and the king of Prussia appointed him to have an interview with him at the Chateau de Meuse, two leagues from Cleves. Thither Voltaire accordingly repaired; but found his majesty, who had been seized with an ague, ill in bed. "I made my bow," says he, "and began my acquaintance by feeling his pulse, as if I had been his first physician ⁶⁰." Frederick had sent to him the manuscript, that he might cause it to be printed, of his refutation of the principles of Machiavel. In allusion to this, Voltaire said to him, at their first interview, "Sire, "had I been Machiavel, and been permitted to "have access to a young king, my first advice to "him would have been, to answer my works ⁶¹."

⁵⁹ Memoirs, p. 40.⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 42.⁶¹ Historical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, 8vo, Lond, 1777. p. 30.

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IT soon, indeed, appeared, that the principles of the king of Prussia were not totally inconsistent with those of Machiavel. At the very time that Voltaire had his first interview with him, Frederick was engaged in an enterprize against the prince-bishop of Liege, which he conducted in such a manner, as proved him to be more influenced by maxims of policy than by those of justice. He was at this time attended at the chateau de Meuse by Mons. Rambonet, minister of state, and privy counsellor, and by the Dutch ambassador; and also by Maupertuis and Algarotti [Q]. After Voltaire

[Q] Count FRANCIS ALGAROTTI was born at Venice in the year 1712, and descended from an opulent and antient patrician family. From his earliest youth he discovered a strong propensity to literature; and being a younger brother, and possessed though of a small, yet independent fortune, he had the means of indulging his inclination. With this view his father sent him to Rome; where, in the Nazarene college, he laid the foundation of his studies, and completed them afterwards at Venice and Bologna. He had made a great progress in the Latin and Greek languages, after which he endeavoured to make himself a master of the English and the French, and then applied himself to mathematics and natural philosophy. Having a taste for painting, he also thought some knowledge of the construction of the human body requisite; and, therefore, employed a part of his time in anatomical inquiries. He attended the anatomical dissections of Caldoni, and drew up a treatise of anatomy for his own use, in order to render his knowledge of that science the more accurate. He then proceeded to the study of history, mythology, criticism, and the belles lettres. Having completed his studies, he travelled over the different parts

taire had been introduced to him, when his ague fit was over, Frederick rose, and supped with Voltaire,

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of Italy, and then passed through Switzerland, Germany, France, England, and Russia, visiting the principal courts of Europe. His rank, learning, agreeable temper, and accomplished manners, every where procured him a favourable reception; and he contracted many friendships in the different countries through which he passed.

His *Congress of Cythera*, which is a kind of elegant satire on the peculiar modes, sentiments, and habits of the English, French, and Italians, in affairs of love and gallantry, was published in Italian about the year 1744. It was well received, and passed through several editions. Voltaire, in one of his letters to the count, expresses himself thus concerning this piece: "I have read, and re-read, and shall read again, your *Congress*; which the graces themselves have dictated, and which you have written with a feather drawn from the wings of love." He also published dialogues on the Newtonian Doctrine of Light and Colours, which was translated into many languages; and an Essay on Rhime, and on the necessity of writing in our native language.

In the course of his travels, count Algarotti took a singular pleasure in collecting whatever rarities he could meet with, in the different places through which he passed; among which may be reckoned the prisms used by Sir Isaac Newton in his experiments. That great man's niece made him a present of them; and they are still preserved, as a most valuable relick, in the Algarotti family. Much of the count's life was spent in travelling; but after the accession of Frederick III. to the throne of Prussia, he resided some years chiefly at that court. In his youth he had enjoyed a tolerable state of health; but too close an application to his studies, the fatigues of travel, and change of climate, by degrees undermined a constitution that was naturally delicate. Towards the close of his life he became extremely

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taire, Maupertuis, Algarotti, and the Dutch ambassador. "At supper," says Voltaire, "we treated
" most

subject to nervous disorders, and hypochondriacal complaints; which obliged him to leave Germany, and to seek for an alleviation of his infirmities in the milder air of his native country. This, however, did not prevent him from falling gradually into a consumption, which carried him off, in 1764, at Pisa, when he had just completed his fifty-second year. He had borne the encroachments of this tedious disorder with the most philosophical resolution; and on the very day of his death, he had passed the morning in a conversation on painting and architecture; in the afternoon, he had part of a new edition of his works, then printing, read over to him; and in the evening he was entertained by a concert of vocal and instrumental music in his apartment. He may, therefore, it has been remarked, truly be said to have died in the arms of the muses. He bequeathed, by his will, a capital painting to the king of Prussia, two paintings, and a ring of great value to Mr. Pitt, for whom he had a high respect, with other legacies to many of his friends. A very superb monument was erected to his memory, in the cathedral of Pisa, at the expence of the king of Prussia; and which is ornamented with a fine emblematical painting by Bianconi. On the painting is the following inscription; *Algarotto, Ovidii æmulo, Newtono discipulo, Fredericus Magnus*: and on the stone, *Algarottus, non omnis*; which the count had particularly desired to be engraved upon his tomb.

Count Algarotti was a man of very amiable dispositions and manners, of many accomplishments, and an ingenious, elegant, and pleasing writer. Besides the pieces already mentioned, he also wrote letters to lord Hervey and the marquis Scipio Maffei, containing an account of the state of the trade, marine, revenues, and forces of the Russian empire, of which an English translation was published, in two small volumes, in 1769. An English translation was also published of some ingenious letters
of

“ most profoundly on the immortality of the soul, CHAP.
 “ natural liberty, and the *Androgynes* of Plato.— III.
 “ While we were thus philosophizing upon free- A. D.
 “ dom, the privy counsellor, Rambonet, was 1740.

of his, in one volume, 8vo. in 1782, under the title of “ Let-
 “ ters military and political.” The originals of these, as of
 all his other works, are in Italian. His Essay on the Opera,
 written with a view to reform it, was dedicated to Mr. Pitt.
 His Essay on Painting, which was published in 1763, was de-
 dicated to the English society for promoting arts, manufactures,
 and commerce, of which he was a member, as he was also of
 the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. The same year he pub-
 lished, at Leghorn, his Essay on the French academy for paint-
 ing at Rome, with a dedication to Mr. Thomas Hollis, con-
 taining some very high encomiums on the English nation. The
 count had a great friendship for Mr. Hollis, and much esteem
 for him, on account of his ardent attachment to liberty, lite-
 rature, and the arts. Count Algarotti also wrote the Life of
 Pallavicini, Thoughts on various subjects philological and phi-
 losophical, seventeen epistles in verse, after the manner of Ho-
 race, some Anacreontic odes and sonnets, and other pieces. A
 compleat edition of his works was printed at Leghorn, in eight
 volumes, 12mo.

Of all the different capitals that count Algarotti visited,
 there was none he had so strong an attachment to as London.
 Here he resided for a considerable time, and made himself
 well acquainted with the English manners, and form of govern-
 ment. It has been said of him, that he was a strenuous admirer
 of English liberty; and that though an Italian by birth, and
 by education a Catholic, yet he was an Englishman in his soul,
 and a Whig in principle. Vid. the Preface to the English trans-
 lation of his “ Letters military and political.”

“ the

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“ the next day, where he proclaimed, with sound
 “ of trumpet, the name of the king his master,
 “ while two thousand soldiers from Wesel were
 “ laying the city of Liege under contribution [R].”

THIS

[R] Voltaire, very little to his own honour, informs us, that he drew up a manifesto himself for Frederick on this occasion. ‘ The pretext,’ says he, ‘ for this fine expedition was ‘ certain rights, which his majesty pretended to have over a ‘ part of the suburbs. It was to me he committed the task of ‘ drawing up the manifesto, which I performed as well as the ‘ nature of the case would let me ; never suspecting that a king, ‘ with whom I supped, and who called me his friend, could ‘ possibly be in the wrong. The affair was soon brought to a ‘ conclusion, by the payment of a million of livres, which he ‘ exacted in good hard ducats, and which served to defray the ‘ expences of his tour to Strasburgh, concerning which he complained so loudly in his poetic prose epistle.’ *Memoirs*, p. 44.

Voltaire also says, that he persuaded the king not to publish his *Anti-Machiavel* at the present crisis. ‘ I represented to him,’ says he, ‘ that perhaps it was not altogether prudent to print his ‘ book, just at the time that the world might reproach him ‘ with having violated the principles he taught ; and he permitted me to stop the impression. I accordingly took a journey ‘ into Holland, purposely to do him this trifling service ; but ‘ the bookseller demanded so much money, that his majesty, ‘ who was not, in the bottom of his heart, vexed to see himself in print, was better pleased to be so for nothing, than to ‘ pay for not being so.’—‘ I could not avoid feeling some remorse, at being concerned in printing this Anti-Machiavelian ‘ book, at the very moment that the king of Prussia, who had ‘ a hundred millions in his coffers, was robbing the poor people at Liege of another, by the hands of the privy counsellor ‘ Rambonet.’ *Ibid.* p. 47, 48.

The

THIS attack against the city of Liege, was founded upon a claim which the king of Prussia had set up, of two districts in the possession of the bishop of Liege, called Herstal and Hermal. One of these districts includes the suburbs of the city of Liege itself. Frederick sent a commissary to demand the homage of the inhabitants; but they refused him admission, and would not take the oath of fidelity, declaring, that they acknowledged no sovereign but the bishop. Bielfeld says also, that the bishop arrested colonel Kreytzen, whom the king had sent to him as his envoy. However that be, it appears, that Frederick sent a letter to the bishop, in which he complained of the violation of his right, and the contempt of his authority, charged the prelate with countenancing the late act of disobedience, and demanded a categorical answer in two days. In three days an answer was returned, in which the bishop observed, that his right of sovereignty in the two lordships was founded upon a grant of the emperor Charles V. which had been guarantied by France and Spain. He also alleged, that his predecessors had enjoyed this grant above a century; that he had supported his rights without the least design of prejudicing those of Prussia; but, in order to terminate all disputes,

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The king of Prussia's book was printed under the following title: "*L' Anti Machiavel; ou Examen du Prince de Machiavel, avec des notes historiques et politiques.*" It was reprinted at London, in one volume, 8vo. in 1741.

declared,

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declared, that the states of Liege having formerly agreed to purchase his Prussian majesty's claim upon Herstal for one hundred thousand crowns, and to pay four per cent. interest till the principal was discharged, he was ready to perform that agreement under a proper guaranty⁶². But Frederick was not satisfied with this proposition, nor with the contribution which he had levied on the inhabitants of Liege. He would not suffer his claim to be subjected to any altercations; but having published a manifesto, in which he charged the bishop with violence and injustice, and remarked, that the feudal laws allowed every man, whose possession was with-held from him, to enter it with an armed force, he immediately dispatched a body of troops into the contested districts, "where they lived without controul, exercising every kind of military tyranny [s], till the cries of the inhabitants

⁶² Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Prussia, 8vo. Lond. 1758. p. 26.

[s] One account says, that on the 13th of August, 1740, "two thousand Prussian grenadiers and dragoons entered the barony of Herstal, where they live at discretion." *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. X. p. 472. In another account, (*London Mag.* for the year 1740, p. 459.) it is said, that his Prussian majesty caused his manifesto against the bishop to be published at Wesel on the 10th of August; "which manifesto was on the 13th followed by two thousand Prussian grenadiers and dragoons, who entered the barony of Herstal at Maseyck, where they are to live at discretion, till the bishop of Liege agrees to do justice to his Prussian majesty." That is, till he

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“ bitants forced the bishop to relinquish them to
“ the quiet government of Prussia ⁶³.”

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As the bishops of Liege had been in possession of the contested districts more than a century, and as Frederick William, the late king of Prussia, though master of a considerable army, had not, any more than his predecessors, adopted any vigorous measures to gain possession of them, it is not probable, that the claim of Frederick the Third was very well founded. At all events, his conduct on this occasion was violent and unjust. The inhabitants of these districts had been guilty of no crime, but that of avowing their allegiance to the prince whom they had been accustomed to obey, and whom they appear to have considered as their lawful sovereign. When Frederick, therefore, sent his troops to live upon the inhabitants of those districts at discretion, he committed an act of tyranny and cruelty, which nothing in the circumstances of the case could justify. His conduct, in the whole transaction, might be well adapted to give an advantageous idea of the celerity of his motions; but was ill calculated to give any favourable impressions of his justice or humanity.

he gave up the territories in contest. Bielfeld says, “ His majesty has ordered some companies of grenadiers into that bishopric, where they live at discretion.” *Letters*, vol. III. p. 233.

⁶³ Johnson’s *Memoirs of the King of Prussia*, p. 106.

C H A P.

CHAP. IV.

Retrospective view of the gradual increase in power of the princes of the house of Brandenburg.—The death of the emperor Charles VI.—Several princes of Europe endeavour to deprive his daughter, Maria Theresa, of the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, which had been guaranteed to her by the pragmatic sanction.—The king of Prussia enters Silesia at the head of a large body of troops, and lays claim to that province.—Fruitless negociation with the queen of Hungary.

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THE power of the house of Brandenburg had been gradually augmented, from the time of the margrave Albert, who died in 1568, to the accession of Frederick III. The duchy of Prussia had been in possession of the knights and grand master of the Teutonic order; but they held it as vassals of Poland; and the margrave Albert, having procured himself to be elected grand master of that order, found means, after he had abjured the Romish religion, by betraying the interests of the knights with whom he was connected, to get himself made duke of that part of Prussia; which he was to hold as a fief of Poland. His son, Frederick Albert, afterwards received the investiture from Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland ⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, vol. I. p. 48, 49.

The succeeding princes of the house of Brandenburg continued to hold the duchy of Prussia as a fief of Poland; and in 1641, Frederick William, surnamed the Great Elector, received in person the investiture of Prussia from the hands of Ladislaus, king of Poland, and engaged to pay an annual tribute of 120,000 florins to that republic. But afterwards, by taking advantage of the troubles of Poland, he procured the duchy of Prussia to be erected into an independent sovereignty. New territories were also afterwards added to it; besides which were acquired the duchy of Cleves, the counties of Marck and Ravensberg, the bishoprics of Minden and Camin, and the eastern part of Pomerania, which was obtained by the treaty of Westphalia. More than half of Swedish Pomerania was afterwards acquired by the house of Brandenburg; and in 1701, Ducal Prussia was erected into a kingdom. And as the electors of Brandenburg had greatly extended their dominions, so they had also augmented their power in those dominions, and exercised a degree of arbitrary sway which was unknown to their ancestors [τ]. They had

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[τ] Voltaire remarks, that Turkey itself is a republic, when compared to the despotism exercised in Prussia by Frederick William; and it is certain, that the power of the sovereigns of Prussia was not diminished in the reign of his son Frederick the Third.

The margraves of Brandenburg were originally governors, appointed by the emperors of Germany, for the administration of

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had gradually, by various usurpations, enlarged their authority; and the too tame acquiescence of the people had established their usurped power.

BUT

of the internal government of the country under them, and to act as generals against foreign enemies or invaders. But in the year 1415, the emperor conferred the electoral dignity, and the office of great chamberlain of the empire, on Frederick I. of the house of Hohenzollern, and at the same time made him a present of the country of Brandenburg, which he was to hold as a fief of the empire. He received the investiture from the hands of the emperor, at the diet of Constance, in 1417. The government of Brandenburg under this elector was, however, far from being despotic. An assembly of the states still subsisted, who granted subsidies, regulated the taxes, and fixed the number of troops, which were never raised but when they were thought necessary. The states were always consulted on the measures proper to be taken for the defence of the country, and on the administration of justice and the police. The power of the succeeding electors was equally limited, till the time of George William, who, in 1631, consulted the states for the last time, and afterwards levied taxes by his own authority, and took all the power into his own hands, and those of his ministers.

In the time of the great elector, Frederick William, the duchy of Prussia had also an assembly of the states, one of the members of which distinguished himself by opposing the treaty of Braunsberg.

From these facts it appears, that the despotic power lately exercised by the electors of Brandenburg, and kings of Prussia, is an usurpation not only upon the natural rights of their subjects, but also upon their antient and constitutional rights. And the case of Prussia, as well as of many other nations of Europe, should convince those nations who have yet some liberties remaining, that they cannot be too vigilant in guarding against the encroachments of their princes. The English have often

been

BUT though the territories of the princes of the house of Brandenburg, as well as their power, had been gradually, and greatly augmented, yet the extent of the dominions of Frederick III. as elector of Brandenburg, and king of Prussia, was far from being adequate to his wishes, or suitable to the views of his ambition. His father had, however, left him a numerous and well disciplined army, and immense sums in his treasury; and it soon appeared, that he would exert his utmost efforts to enlarge his territories, without being very scrupulous as to the means. This was in part manifested by his transaction with the bishop of Liege, of which an account was given at the close of the preceding chapter; and was rendered still more apparent by subsequent events.

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THE death of the emperor, Charles VI. the last male heir of the house of Austria, who died on the 29th of October, 1740, was an event that greatly interested all Europe, and awakened the ambition of some of its most powerful princes. By virtue of the Pragmatic sanction, or law, by which

been reproached with being too jealous upon this head. They are said to be alarmed for their liberties, when their liberties are not in danger. But it is to the vigilance with which they have guarded their national freedom, that they are indebted for its present existence. Should they ever cease to watch carefully over the conduct of those to whom the powers of government are entrusted, and be inattentive to the encroachments of ministers or princes, the period will then probably not be far distant, when they will cease to be a free people,

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the succession to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria was secured to the female heirs of the emperor Charles VI. in case he should die without male issue, that succession devolved to the archduchess Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, who was married to Francis of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany. This immense inheritance comprehended the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austrian Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four Forest towns, Burgaw, Brisgau, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, and the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Placentia ⁶⁵.

THE pragmatic sanction had been guaranteed by almost all the powers of Europe; notwithstanding which, the emperor of Germany was no sooner dead, than four claimants appeared for the inheritance of the Austrian dominions. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, laid claim to the kingdom of Bohemia, on the strength of an article in the will of the emperor Ferdinand I. brother to Charles V. made about two centuries before. Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, exhibited pretensions to the whole Austrian succession, in virtue of the right of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, elder brother of Charles VI. The king of Spain founded his claim to all the

⁶⁵ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 66. edit. 1786. Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 48. edit. Lond. 1774.

possessions

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possessions of the Austrian family, on his being descended from the consort of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. and the king of Sardinia revived an obsolete claim to the duchy of Milan.

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NOTWITHSTANDING these different claimants, Maria Theresa proceeded to take possession of the territories, which had devolved to her by the death of the emperor her father, and which it had been the design of the pragmatic sanction to secure to her. She received the homage of the states of Austria at Vienna on the 7th of November; and the provinces of Italy and Bohemia swore allegiance to her by their deputies. She possessed an affability of manners, which had seldom been seen in her ancestors, and by which she gained the hearts of her subjects, without diminishing her dignity. She also particularly ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by taking the antient oath which king Andrew II. made in the year 1222. "If I, or any of my successors, shall, at any time, infringe upon your privileges; by virtue of this promise, you, and your descendants, shall be allowed to defend yourselves, and shall not be treated as rebels⁶⁶." As the ancestors of this princess had always been backward in entering into such engagements, the readiness with which she took this oath gained her great popularity. Having thus con-

⁶⁶ Voltaire's age of Lewis XV. vol. I. p. 52.

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ciliated the affections of her subjects, her next object was to procure for her husband a share in all her crowns, under the title of co-regent; and having succeeded in this, she flattered herself, that the consequence thus conferred upon the grand-duke, would soon raise him to the imperial throne.

THE affairs of Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, were in this situation, when a new and unexpected enemy started up, who was more artful in his manœuvres, and more alert in his operations, than any other of the claimants of the whole, or any part of the Austrian inheritance. This was the king of Prussia, whose great object, from the very commencement of his reign, appears to have been the aggrandizement of his dominions; and who considered the death of the emperor as a circumstance favourable to his views. When that event happened, he had been for some time ill of a fever at Rheinsberg [u]; but the news of the emperor's

[u] In a letter dated Nov. 30, 1740, Bielfeld says, 'The king has struggled, for a month past, with a violent and obstinate fever; which makes his humour less gay, and the court less lively than usual. Every time his majesty has a fresh attack of the fever, a mournful silence reigns over all the palace, and a languid look dwells on every countenance. But, on his better days, he has a concert in his apartment, appears in public, dines and sups with the queen and the princesses, his sisters, and sometimes gives a ball.' Letters, vol. IV. p. 14, 15.

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death seems to have hastened his recovery [v]. He immediately held consultations with his ministers of state, and with marschal Schwerin, and his other generals; though it appears, that he communicated his real designs to none of them⁶⁷. His troops were ordered to hold themselves in instant readiness for marching; magazines were formed at Franckfort on the Oder, and at Crossen; and large trains of artillery were prepared⁶⁸. It soon after appeared, that he meant to take advantage of the present embarrassed state of the queen of Hungary's affairs, to revive some claims of his family to the duchy of Silesia, by virtue of old treaties of confraternity, but which seem to have been either

[v] At the time when the news of the emperor's death arrived, the king was in bed, in consequence of his fever, and in a strong perspiration. After some delay, they acquainted him with the news, and he read the dispatches relative to it. 'His majesty,' says Bielfeld, 'did not appear to be greatly moved: but what has followed, convinces me, that he possesses the art of composing his countenance, and that the emotion passed within. For he rose soon after, sent for M. von Eichel, privy counsellor and secretary of the cabinet, and commanded him to write to marschal Schwerin, and M. von Podewills, minister for foreign affairs, and order them to come immediately to Rheinsberg. These gentlemen arrived forthwith; and they daily hold long and very secret conferences with his majesty. They say, that sovereigns have sometimes authority even over their infirmities. The fever has shewn itself docile to the will of the monarch; for, after two slight attacks, it has entirely left him.' *Ibid.* p. 18, 19.

⁶⁷ Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 50.

⁶⁸ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. IV. p. 20.

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obsolete or annulled. He did not, however, at first fully avow his intentions. For in a curious manifesto which he published, assigning reasons for ordering his troops to enter into Silesia, which was dated at Berlin the 1st of December, he observed, that the empire, and the house of Austria, in consequence of the death of the emperor, and the disputes about the succession, were without a head, and exposed to dangerous troubles, of which a part had manifested themselves already, and others were ready to break out. As to himself, he said, he had always been solicitous for what tended to the good and preservation of the duchy of Silesia; and the rather, because it served as a barrier to his dominions, and that province might be invaded, to the great prejudice of his frontiers, by those who formed pretensions to the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, and whence the flame of war might be extended to his own territories, and expose them to evident danger. With a view, therefore, to prevent consequences so dangerous, upon the appearance of a general war, with which Europe was then threatened, and to provide for the defence of the dominions which God had given him, and for very important reasons on his part, which he should not fail to make public in due time, he had thought proper to cause his troops to enter the duchy of Silesia, in order to cover it from being invaded or attacked. And as, by so doing, he had not the least intention to prejudice her majesty

jesty the queen of Hungary, with whom he was
 resolved to keep a strict friendship, as well as with
 the whole Austrian house; and was, indeed, then
 busily employed in explaining himself upon the
 subject to the queen of Hungary; he assured the
 inhabitants of Silesia, that they might be satisfied
 they would have no hostility to apprehend on the
 part of his troops; and, on the contrary, that they
 would be fully maintained in their rights, liberties,
 and privileges. His majesty added, that as his
 troops entered Silesia only to support its inhabi-
 tants, preserve their properties, and provide for
 the tranquility of the duchy, he hoped that the in-
 habitants would adopt no measures, which should
 oblige him, contrary to his inclinations, to act in
 a less pacific and friendly manner than he intend-
 ed; as, in that case, they could impute only to
 themselves, the ill consequences which might result
 from such conduct⁶⁹.

It was in the middle of December, that Fre-
 derick marched into Silesia, at the head of 30,000
 men [w]. It was proposed to adorn his standard
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⁶⁹ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 31, 32, 33, 34.

[w] He appears not to have been quite recovered from his disorder, when he set out for Silesia. Voltaire says, 'He departed on the 15th of December, with the quartan ague, for the conquest of Silesia, at the head of thirty thousand combatants, well disciplined, and well accoutred. As he mounted his horse, he said to the marquis de Beauveau, minister from the court of France, "I believe I am going to play your

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with the motto, PRO DEO ET PATRIA; but he erased the name of God, saying, that it was improper to introduce the name of the Deity in the quarrels of men, and that he was going to war for a province, and not for religion ⁷⁰. He then ordered the Roman eagle, displayed *in relievo*, and fixed on the top of a gilt pole, to be carried before his regiment of guards, by way of intimation to them, that they were to be invincible ⁷¹. When he entered Silesia, he is said to have made the following speech to his troops. "Gentlemen, I do not look upon you as my subjects, but as my friends. The troops of Brandenburg have always signalized themselves by their courage, and given, on different occasions, the fullest evidences of their bravery. I shall be an eye-witness to all your exploits. You will always fight in my presence; and I will recompense those who shall distinguish themselves for their zeal in my service, rather as a father than as a sovereign ⁷²."

"game for you: if the aces turn up, we will divide." *Memoirs*, p. 52. Voltaire observes in another place, that the French minister "did not know, when he first saw the Prussian troops in motion, whether they were destined against France or Austria." *Age of Lewis XV.* ch. 6.

⁷⁰ Voltaire's *Age of Lewis XV.* vol. I. p. 54. ⁷¹ *Id.* *ibid.*

⁷² *Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Prussia*, 8vo. Lond. 1758. p. 35. Johnson's *Memoirs*, *ut supra*, p. 107. *Gent. Mag.* vol. X. p. 625.

NOTWITHSTANDING the friendly and pacific views with which the king of Prussia professed to have entered into Silesia, it appears, that he very soon levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants, under pretence of subsisting his troops, and that great damage was done by them to the country. To this, however, the Silesians were obliged to submit, as they were not prepared with any force sufficient to oppose the troops of the king of Prussia. In the mean time, Frederick ordered his ministers at Vienna, count Gotter, and baron Borck, to enter into a negociation with Maria Theresa. They represented to that princess, that the king of Prussia was ready to guaranty all the German dominions of the house of Austria; that with a view of securing their possessions to that house, he would conclude a treaty with Austria, Russia, and the maritime powers; that he would use his utmost endeavours that the queen of Hungary's husband, the grand duke of Tuscany, should be raised to the imperial throne; and that, in order to enable her majesty successfully to oppose her enemies, he would immediately advance to her, in ready money, two millions of florins. For all this he required, "as well on account of his right thereto, "as for a compensation for the dangers that he "should expose himself to, for the safety and glory "of the house of Austria only," that Silesia should be given up to him⁷³. But he afterwards directed

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⁷³ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 36. Johnson's Memoirs, p. 108. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 53.

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his ministers to hint at Vienna, that though he had demanded the entire cession of the whole province, he might, perhaps, be satisfied with part of it, provided the queen of Hungary would make a reasonable accommodation with him, for their mutual interests. It was added, that on all occasions which might offer, wherein he could assist the queen of Hungary, and preserve the glory of her house, or repair any loss that she might suffer in the present juncture, he should shew the utmost readiness to do it.⁷⁴

To these proposals of the king of Prussia, it was answered on the part of the queen of Hungary, That though his Prussian majesty alleged as his reason for entering Silesia, the danger of the dominions of the house of Austria from other powers, it was manifest, that he was the first and only invader, and that till he entered in a hostile manner, all her possessions were unmolested. To his promises of assistance she replied, that she set a high value upon the king of Prussia's friendship, but that he was already obliged to assist her against invaders, both by the golden bull, and the pragmatic sanction, of which he was a guarantee. If such ties, said she, are not binding, with what security can the house of Austria rely on any other? As to an alliance with Russia and the maritime powers, she observed, that such an alliance sub-

⁷⁴ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 36. Gent. Mag. ubi supra.

sisted between the house of Austria and those powers, before the king of Prussia had entered Silesia; and that it could never be proper to alienate her dominions, for the consolidation of an alliance, the chief object of which was to preserve them entire. With regard to his interest in the election of an emperor, she expressed her gratitude in strong terms; but as that election, she said, ought to be free, and made in the manner prescribed by the golden bull, she was of opinion, that nothing could tend more to thwart it, than raising commotions in the heart of the empire. Of the pecuniary assistance proposed she remarked, that no prince ever made war to oblige another to take money; and that the contributions already drawn from Silesia, under pretence of subsisting his troops, added to the immense damage done that country by the havock made in it, exceeded the two millions offered. She was far, she said, from designing to begin her reign by dismembering her dominions; and, therefore, could never consent to give up the province of Silesia, or any part of it. But she was ready to renew the strictest friendship with the king of Prussia, provided he would withdraw his troops from her territories; and she entreated him to adopt this measure, as the only method of promoting peace, by all the considerations that could make impressions upon the heart of a great prince ⁷⁵.

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⁷⁵ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 37, 38.

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FREDERICK finding that he could gain nothing by negociation, continued to prosecute his claim by arms. He advanced with his army farther into Silesia, releasing the people from the rents and services they were accustomed to pay to the clergy. He also plundered the convents of their stores of provisions; and when the heads of those communities complained, he told them, that "he had never read in the scriptures of magazines being erected by the apostles; whose example, he thought, their profession obliged them to imitate ⁷⁶."

⁷⁶ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 40, 41. John-
son's Memoirs, p. 109. Gent. Mag. ubi supra.

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Progress of the Prussian army in Silesia.—The city of Glogau taken by surprize.—The battle of Mollwitz.—The city of Brieg surrenders to the Prussian arms.—The British and Dutch ministers present a memorial to Frederick, on his invasion of Silesia.—He makes himself master of the strong fortrefs of Neiss.—Enters Breslaw, and receives the homage of the nobility, clergy, and burghers.—He returns to Berlin.—State of the Austrian affairs.—The court of France engages in the war against the queen of Hungary.—The elector of Bavaria raised to the imperial throne.

WHEN the king of Prussia first entered Silesia, he met with little opposition from the inhabitants, who expected no such attack, and were wholly unprepared to defend themselves against so powerful an invader [x]. By degrees, however, the

[x] The small number of Austrian troops in Silesia, at the time when the king of Prussia invaded it, is the reason assigned by himself for commencing his operations in the winter. 'At the death,' says he, 'of the emperor Charles VI. in 1740, there were no more than two Austrian regiments in Silesia. Being determined to assert my right to that duchy, I was obliged to make war during the winter, that I might take the advantage of circumstances, and make the banks of the Neiss the scene of action. If I had waited till the spring, we should have

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the Austrian troops began to assemble, and to withstand the progress of the Prussian arms. The king had sent a detachment from the main army, which was now considerably reinforced, under the command of major-general De la Motte, to take possession of Jablunka, a town on the frontiers of Hungary, which had a castle built on a rock. The garrison made a vigorous defence; but were at length obliged to capitulate. This place was reckoned the key of Silesia on the side of Hungary; but the Prussians were afterwards obliged to abandon it for want of provisions; those which were sent to them being repeatedly intercepted by the Austrian hussars.

GLOGAU, a large and well fortified city on the frontiers of Poland, was also besieged by the Prussians. And on the 7th of March, 1741, at night, prince Leopold, of Anhalt Dessau, who commanded the blockade, which had continued for some time, received orders from the king to make an unexpected attack upon the place, in order to take it by surprize, according to a plan concerted with his majesty. Next day the proper dispositions were made; and, about eight at night, the troops began to put themselves under arms. At ten they reached their several posts, a mile from the town.

* have begun the war between Grossen and Glogau, and what
 * we gained by one single march, would certainly have cost us
 * three or four difficult campaigns. *Military Instructions, &c.*
 p. 171.

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With the greatest order and silence, they then marched to the foot of the glacis. The troops immediately advanced to the palisadoes, and, leaping over them, threw themselves into the covered way; some small detachments running every way to disarm all the enemy whom they could meet with. The town was now alarmed; but this did not prevent the Prussians from descending into the ditch, and advancing to the foot of the rampart, which was thirty-four feet high, with a slope of ten feet, which was made very slippery by a hard frost of two days continuance. These difficulties were, however, quickly surmounted; and prince Leopold, with the margrave Charles, and five or six others, first got to the top of the courtine. They were soon followed by a battalion of four companies of grenadiers, who gained possession of two bastions. They then attempted to break down the gate, behind which the Austrian generals, Wallis and Reyski, had now posted themselves with their grenadiers, who fired on the Prussians, and did some execution. But prince Leopold causing the fire to be returned, general Reyski received two wounds, the grenadiers fled, and general Wallis was obliged to follow them. The gate was then laid open, and the Prussians passed through the castle into the town. Two other attacks were executed with the same vigour and dispatch. So great was the consternation of the Austrians, that one incident is related which seems hardly credible.

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Four Prussian grenadiers, who had climbed the ramparts, missing their own company, met an Austrian captain with fifty-two men. They were at first about to retreat; but, gathering courage, they called out to the Austrians to lay down their arms. In the terror of darkness and confusion, the fears of the Austrians having multiplied their enemies, the Prussians were unexpectedly obeyed; and three of them stood sentry over the Austrians, while the fourth brought a reinforcement ⁷⁷.

THE Prussians made themselves masters of the place about an hour after mid-night. The Austrian generals, Wallis and Reyski, with the garrison, consisting of 1065 men, including officers, were all made prisoners of war. Fifty brass cannon were found in the castle, a large quantity of gunpowder, and the military chest, with thirty-two thousand florins. The king of Prussia thought highly of the manner in which this enterprize was conducted. In his "Military Instructions for the generals of his army," which contain remarks on his own campaigns, he says, "The surprize of GLOGAU was a master-piece of the military art, worthy the imitation of all those who would attempt any thing of the like nature ⁷⁸." As a

⁷⁷ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 42, 43. Johnson's Memoirs, p. 110. Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 166.

⁷⁸ Military Instructions, written by the King of Prussia, for the Generals of his army, being his Majesty's own Commentaries on his former Campaigns, translated by an Officer, Lond. 8vo, 1762. p. 108.

testimony of his approbation of the conduct of prince Leopold on this occasion, he immediately appointed him general of the foot, and also wrote to him a letter, of which the following is a translation.

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‘ My dear Prince Leopold,

‘ I am vastly obliged to you for the brave and
‘ glorious action you have just performed ; which,
‘ as I can never forget, will not fail to increase my
‘ sincere friendship for you. Make my compli-
‘ ments to margrave Charles. Tell all my brave
‘ officers how much I am pleased with them, and
‘ that, as I shall never forget their gallant beha-
‘ viour in this instance, I shall convince them of
‘ my complete satisfaction, &c. ’⁷⁹

ABOUT this time a plot was pretended to be discovered, in Silesia, for killing, or carrying off the king of Prussia ; and one of the Prussian ministers published a memorial at Mentz, in which it was stated, ‘ That notwithstanding the moderation,
‘ which his Prussian majesty had all along shewn
‘ towards the court of Vienna, yet that court had
‘ been far from behaving so to him, and had had
‘ recourse to the detestable expedient of employing
‘ emissaries, spies, and banditti, to beset him, and
‘ even attempt his life. That one of these ban-
‘ ditti confessed, that he was obliged to take an

⁷⁹ Gent. Mag. ut supra.

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‘oath for that purpose in the Aulic council of war,
 ‘and in the presence of the grand duke of Tuf-
 ‘cany, whom his Prussian majesty had thought
 ‘incapable of such unworthy conduct.’ To this
 charge it was replied on the part of the court of
 Vienna, ‘That the house of Austria never knew
 ‘what it was to employ banditti. That the piety
 ‘of the queen, and the sentiments of the grand
 ‘duke, were too well known for any body to be-
 ‘lieve it of them. That the story of an oath,
 ‘taken by one of these banditti in the presence of
 ‘the grand duke, in the Aulic council of war, was
 ‘so ill contrived, that it was impossible for it to
 ‘gain the least credit; and that the imposture of
 ‘such an avowal was too evident, to escape the ob-
 ‘servation and censure of every one, who knows
 ‘the character of the Aulic council ⁸⁰.’ It is some-
 what the more probable, that there was no reality
 in the design alleged to have been formed against
 the king of Prussia’s person, because to charge his
 enemies falsely with evil designs, was perfectly con-
 sonant to his maxims of policy. In his “Military
 “Instructions for the generals of his army,” in
 directing them how to act in neutral countries, he
 says, “It may not be improper to accuse the ene-
 “my of the most pernicious designs against the
 “inhabitants ⁸¹.”

⁸⁰ Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 44, 45. Gent. Mag. vol.
 XL p. 222.

⁸¹ Military Instructions, p. 76.

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THE court of Vienna was now so much exasperated against the king of Prussia, that orders were sent to general Neuperg, who commanded the Austrian forces, to hazard a battle with him at all events. Accordingly the two armies encountered each other, on the 10th of April, 1741, in the neighbourhood of Neiss, at a village called Mollwitz. The engagement commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued four hours. The Austrians at first drove back the left wing of the Prussians, commanded by lieutenant-general count Schuylemberg. But the king of Prussia, having been informed that the Austrians were superior to him in cavalry, had intermixed grenadiers with his horse, by which means the Prussians recovered from their confusion. The attack on the right wing of the Prussians was likewise very vigorous; but the heat of the action was on the left wing. At length, however, the first line of Prussian infantry was so routed by the Austrians, and their cavalry obtained so much the advantage, that the battle seemed to be irrecoverably lost, and Frederick himself retreated to a considerable distance from the field of action; being probably apprehensive of being made prisoner by the Austrians, which might have defeated all his schemes. But the second line of Prussian infantry, under the command of mareschal SCHWERIN, stood so

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firm [y], that they turned the fortune of the day. At six in the evening the Austrians were obliged to retire under the cannon of Neiss, leaving the field of battle to the Prussians. In this action, in which the advantage gained by the Prussians was chiefly owing to the valour and conduct of marshal Schwerin, the Austrians are said to have had 3000 men killed and wounded, and the Prussians 600 killed, and 1500 wounded [z]. Among those who

[y] Voltaire says, that 'the second line of infantry stood immovable, and recovered every thing, by observing that discipline to which the Prussian soldiers are accustomed; their continual firing, discharging at least five times in a minute, and by loading their guns with iron ramrods in an instant.' *Age of Lewis XV. chap. v.*

[z] The king of Prussia wrote an account of the victory obtained by his troops at Molwitz to Voltaire, who received it at Lille, when his tragedy of Mahomet was performing there. He read the letter, which was brought to him between the acts, to the audience, who received it with a general clap. "You will see," said Voltaire, "that this piece of Molwitz will insure success to mine." *Historical Memoirs of the Author of the Henriade, p. 33.*

The king of Prussia himself acknowledges, that he might have been much more successful against the Austrians at Molwitz, if he had then possessed more military skill and experience. 'We approached marshal Neuperg's army,' says he, 'without being discovered by any one man living. His troops were then cantoned in three villages; but at that time I had not sufficient experience to know how to avail myself of such an opportunity; I ought immediately to have ordered two of my columns to surround the village of Molwitz, and then to have attacked it. I ought at the same instant to have detached my dragoons, with orders

who were killed on the Prussian side, were the margrave Frederick and lieutenant general Schuylenberg. Mareschal Schwerin was also wounded in the action. The celebrated Maupertuis, who in part of this campaign accompanied the king, was taken prisoner by the Austrians.

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ON the 23d of the same month the city of BRIEG, which is situated near the banks of the Oder, surrendered to the king of Prussia. It had been besieged seven days; during which time the Prussians had fired into it 14,714 cannon balls, and thrown into it 2122 bombs; by which great part of the city was reduced to ashes⁸¹. Frederick afterwards forced the important pass of Fryewalde, which was defended by four thousand hussars; and also endeavoured, but without effect, to bring the Austrians to another action⁸².

ABOUT this time the British and Dutch ministers, who attended the Prussian camp, presented a memorial to the king, in which it was stated, that his Britannick majesty, and their high mightinesses the states-general, beheld with great regret the troubles that had arisen between his Prussian majesty

orders to have attacked the other two villages which contained the Austrian cavalry. The infantry which should have followed, would have prevented them from mounting. If I had proceeded in this manner, I am convinced I should have totally destroyed the Austrian army. *Military Instructions*, p. 113.

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⁸² Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 47.

⁸¹ Gent. Mag. vol. XI. p. 334.

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and the queen of Hungary, and could not but express their surprize at his majesty's enterprize against Silesia; and the rather, on account of a letter which he had written to them, in which he had declared his intention to support the house of Austria, to preserve peace in the empire, and to watch over its repose as well as its safety. They likewise expressed their apprehensions, that the steps which his majesty was taking, might be attended with consequences quite opposite to his declarations, not only with regard to the house of Austria, and the peace of the empire, but also to the liberties and repose of Europe. And they exhorted him to withdraw his troops from Silesia, in order to pave the way to a lasting accommodation, and to restore peace to the empire. Frederick returned an answer, in which he observed, that he had never been averse to a reasonable accommodation with the queen of Hungary; but that the advantageous proposals which he had made to that princess had been rejected with disdain. He expressed his gratitude to the king of Great Britain, and the states-general, for their desire to accommodate, in an amicable manner, the differences subsisting between him and the queen of Hungary; but he intimated, at the same time, his determination not to give up his claim to Silesia; and he hoped that his Britannick majesty, and their high mightinesses, would not deviate from that impartiality, which was necessary in the accommodation

tion of such differences, as subsisted between him and the queen of Hungary ²⁴.

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IN the month of July, the king of Prussia was encamped near the little town of Strehle; where he was accompanied by several foreign ministers; and, among others, by the ambassadors from France and Spain, the duke of Belleisle, and the marquis of Montigo, who made a very splendid appearance [A]. Their avowed business in Germany was, to attend at Franckfort the election and coronation of a new emperor of Germany. In his camp at Strehle, the king of Prussia appeared not only easy and chearful, but in high spirits, and full of vivacity. In a letter written at this time by baron

²⁴ Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 47—50.

[A] Bielfeld says, 'Each of these ministers makes a most brilliant figure, and never have I seen any one travel with more ease and convenience, more elegance and grandeur, than does the marquis of Montigo. Wherever he stops to dine, or sup, he finds a room hung with the richest tapestry, and the floor covered with Turkey carpets, with velvet chairs, and every other kind of convenience; a table sumptuously served, the choicest wines, and a desert of fruit and confectionary, that Paris itself could not excel. This kind of enchantment, this real miracle in Germany, is performed by means of three baggage waggons, of which two always go before the ambassador, and carry with them every thing necessary for his reception; and when they arrive in some poor village, the domestics that accompany each waggon immediately clear and clean some chamber, fix the tapestry by rings to the walls, cover the floor with carpets, and furnish the kitchen and cellar with every kind of necessary.' Letters, vol. I. p. 3, 4.

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Bielfeld, who attended Frederick at Strehle, is the following passage: 'Notwithstanding all the fatigues of war, the king is in perfect health, and more gay and pleasant than ever; and all who approach his majesty, meet with a most gracious reception. In the midst of his camp, and at the head of sixty thousand Prussians, our monarch appears to me with a new and superior air of greatness²⁵'.

IN September, Frederick was encamped on the top of a hill, in sight of Neiß; the Austrian army, under general Neuperg, being chiefly encamped in the plain at no great distance. The Prussians were now, for a short time, in great want of provisions, while the Austrian troops were well supplied [B]. But this distress in the Prussian camp did not long continue; for general Neuperg quitted his camp, and marched towards the mountains that cover Bohemia. The Prussian troops immediately marched down the hill, and took possession of the camp which had been left by the

²⁵ Letters, vol. I. p. 7.

[B] 'They suffered,' says Bielfeld, 'in this camp, every kind of want; and it was no small mortification to see from the hill the camp of Mr. Neuperg, which lay partly on the plain, and partly in a village, abounding with every kind of necessary. I mounted to the top of a hill, and by the help of a good telescope, could see, in the quarters of the Austrian hussars, the sutlers selling all sorts of provisions, and every article of luxury, fish, choice fruit, water melons, and even ananas, while we were just dying with hunger. But this extremity lasted not long; for, about noon, we saw the whole army of M. Neuperg in motion.' Letters, ut supra, p. 44.

Austrians. The Prussian light troops were employed in harrassing the Austrians in their retreat; and, by quitting his camp, general Neuperg had given the king of Prussia an opportunity of investing the town of Neiss, which was the strongest fortification in Silesia. The place was so vigorously besieged, the town being laid waste with bombs and cannon balls, that it did not hold out many days after the trenches were opened; but the garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war [c].

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THE king of Prussia, having completed the conquest of Lower Silesia, entered BRESLAW, the ca-

[c] During the continuance of this siege, Bielfeld, who was present at it, says, 'The king ordered two tables to be set up in a barn, on each of which were forty covers. Here he dined with the princes, and his officers; and here we ate likewise, or were sometimes invited by the generals. They had a good table in camp, and there was no want of wine. In the afternoon we attended the king at his quarters, and towards the evening we waited on his royal highness the margrave Henry, who was well lodged. Here we were invited to play, and almost always kept to supper. Marechal Schwerin was lodged in a village a short mile from the head-quarters.'

In the same letter he says, 'There has happened nothing very remarkable in the course of this siege. The only unfortunate accident we have had, was from a powder barrel, which being placed too near the batteries, took fire, and blew up eleven soldiers belonging to the artillery. The greatest part of these unfortunate men were destroyed; and, as I passed that way presently after, I saw their wretched remains, black as soot.' Letters, ut supra, p. 48, 49.

pital

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pital of the duchy [D], and a day was appointed for receiving the homage of the Silesian nobility, clergy, and burghers. The great hall of the state-house of this city was made use of on this occa-

[D] According to baron Bielfeld, the king arrived at Breslaw on the 8th of October, 1741, in the afternoon. • He found • an innumerable number of people before the palace; and all • the antichamber filled with Silesian nobles, prelates, officers, • and other persons of rank. The principal of these were presented to his majesty, who received them most graciously, and • conversed with them for a long time. The king then withdrew to his chamber, where he had a concert, and played himself on the flute. His majesty afterwards supped alone, and • retired early to rest, sufficiently fatigued with the business of this remarkable day.

• The following day, as the king talked with messieurs Podewils, Munchow, and Reinhardt, he ordered baron Pollnitz to • be called, and said to him, “Baron, I dreamt last night that • I created nobles. Tell me, you that know Silesia, who • are the most worthy to bear that title?” Baron Pollnitz • mentioned such as by their birth, their merit, and their fortune, were the most respectable; and as his majesty’s choice • fell on count Schoneich, messieurs Beuthen and Casolath, and • count Harzfield, the baron was ordered to acquaint them • with his majesty’s intention. There were made, besides these, • four counts, four barons, and four other nobles; and six of • the principal Silesian nobility were invested with the order • of the Black Eagle. As a reward for the important services • which M. Podewils, minister for foreign affairs, has rendered • his majesty in the course of this war, he was also raised to the • dignity of a count, and invested with the king’s order. There • were likewise distributed several lord chamberlain’s keys, several • letters patent for seats in the council of state, and many other • titles and pensions.’ Letters, ut supra, p. 61, 62, 63,

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sion [E]. On the morning of the day which was set apart for this purpose, all the garrison of Breslaw were under arms as soon as it was light, and marched to different quarters of the town. In the forenoon, the streets were crowded with people of all ranks; and the Silesian clergy and nobility repaired to the state-house in solemn procession, and in great pomp. Cardinal Zinzendorff, bishop of Breslaw, was at the head of the prelates, the generals of the religious orders, and deputies of the Silesian churches. After the equipages of the clergy came the deputies of the provinces, and the whole body of nobility. Then followed the burgomasters and senators of Breslaw, and the deputies of other towns. The principal nobility came in coaches and six: their equipages were splendid, their liveries gay, and their cloaths richly laced. When they had entered the hall of the state-house, they were arranged on one side of it, according to their rank. Mareschal Schwerin, count Podewils, the king of Prussia's chief minister, count Munchow,

[E] In this hall was a throne, which had been erected for the emperor Matthias, and which was made use of on the present occasion. 'But unluckily,' says Bielfeld, 'on the velvet that covered this throne, was embroidered the imperial two-headed eagle. This inconvenience, however, was presently removed; for, by cutting off one of his heads, and fixing the king's cypher on his breast, he became as complete a Prussian eagle, as if he had never belonged to any other country.' *Ibid.* p. 61.

baron

CHAP. baron Pollnitz [F], many general officers, and per-
 V. sons of distinction belonging to the king's train, af-
 A. D. terwards entered the same hall, but by another
 1741. door,

[F] CHARLES LEWIS, Baron de POLLNITZ, was born on the 25th of February, 1692, at Issouin, a village in the electorate of Cologne. He lost his father before he was two years of age, and was brought up under the care of his mother, who chiefly resided at Berlin. He afterwards studied some time at Lunenburgh, under the care of a governor; but he was very early introduced at court, and was present at the coronation of the first king of Prussia. In 1708, by the king's permission, he served as a volunteer among the Prussian troops, against the French, in the allied army commanded by the duke of Marlborough, and was present at the battle of Oudenarde. The same year, he was made one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber. In this situation he continued a considerable time, and then quitted Berlin, in consequence of some harsh words which were spoken to him by the king. He then went to Brunswick, Zell, and Hanover, where he was introduced to the princess Sophia, mother to king George the First, by whom he was extremely well received, and of whom he expresses himself in the following terms: "This princess, though she was full fourscore
 "when I was at Hanover, laboured under none of those infir-
 "mities which one would think to be inseparable from so great
 "an age. She was really a prodigy for vivacity and memory.
 "She spoke French, English, and Italian, as well as her mother
 "tongue; and had, moreover, a wonderful just way of think-
 "ing, which she had taken the pains to cultivate by great read-
 "ing." At Hanover, however, Pollnitz engaged too much in gaming, by which he involved himself in difficulties; but he afterwards went to France, where he was introduced to the court at Versailles, and was much distinguished by Lewis XIV. who said, "That of all the foreigners who had been introduced
 "to him, nobody had saluted him with a better grace, and a
 "more

door, and placed themselves on each side of the throne, opposite to the Silesian nobility and deputies.

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ABOUT

" more easy air, than the margrave of Anspach, and the baron de Pollnitz."

At Paris Pollnitz lived in a very gay and expensive manner, gained much, and engaged in intrigues, and at length the consequences of his extravagances obliged him to quit France, and he returned to Berlin. But Frederick William having now ascended the throne of Prussia, there was so little splendor in that court, that Pollnitz was soon disgusted with it; and having no prospect of preferment, he again returned to Paris. He staid there for some time, then went back again to Germany, and in vain solicited some court preferment at Berlin, after which he travelled into Poland. In 1714, he was again in France, and was present when Lewis XIV. gave audience to the Persian ambassador. He involved himself in farther difficulties by his extravagancies at Paris, but at length obtained a pension from the French court of 2000 livres, though of this he was deprived after the accession of Lewis XV. About this time he embraced the Roman Catholic religion, after which he travelled into several other countries, and met with a variety of adventures, being often extremely distressed for want of money. His estate was much involved, and he once formed a design of endeavouring to retrieve his circumstances, by entering into holy orders; though the general tenor of his life seems to have been very unsuitable to that profession. As he visited most of the courts and cities of Europe, he wrote an account of his travels in the French language, in the form of letters, which are very entertaining, and have been extremely well received. They were translated into English, and the third edition was published in five volumes, 12mo. in 1745, under the title of "Memoirs of Charles Lewis, Baron de Pollnitz." He met with but little countenance at the court of Prussia, during the reign of Frederick

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ABOUT noon, the king himself proceeded to the state-house, in a phaëton, such as he frequently used in the field, and which was drawn by eight horses. He was in his uniform, which was somewhat the worse for wear, and his hair, as usual, was negligently dressed. In this martial attire Frederick seated himself on the throne. The prince of Prussia, and the other princes of the blood, placed them-

derick William; but after the accession of Frederick III. he was received into favour, made one of the king's chamberlains, and frequently admitted to his convivial parties.

From what Voltaire says of Pollnitz, it seems as if he had changed his religion more than once; and he represents the king as apt to be very satirical with him upon that circumstance, and on account of his morals. 'It is well known,' says Voltaire, 'how much must be borne from kings; but Frederick was too free in the abuse of his prerogative. All society has its laws, except the society of the Lion and the Lamb. Frederick continually failed in the first of these laws; which is, to say nothing disobliging of any of the company. He often used to ask his chamberlain Pollnitz, if he would not willingly change his religion a fourth time, and offer to pay a hundred crowns down for his conversion. "Good God, my dear Pollnitz," he would say, "I have forgotten the name of that person at the Hague, whom you cheated by selling him back for pure silver; let me beg of you to assist my memory a little." He treated poor D'Argens in much the same way; and yet these two victims remained. Pollnitz, having wasted his fortune, was obliged to swallow serpents for bread, and had no other food; and D'Argens had no property in the world, but his Jewish Letters, and his wife, called Cochois, a bad provincial actress, and so ugly she could get no employment at any trade, though she practised several.' *Memoirs of the Life of Voltaire, written by himself, p. 143. 144.*

selves

selves around him. Marechal Schwerin stood on his right hand, and was to have borne the sword of state, but that was forgotten. This omission the king supplied, by drawing his own sword, and putting it into the marechal's hand.

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COUNT Podewills, who stood on the left hand of the king, then made a speech, in which he acquainted the assembly with the motives, which had induced his majesty to convoke that meeting; and he exhorted the Silesians, that they would with their hearts, as well as with their lips, swear allegiance to their new lord, and sovereign duke. He assured them, in the king's name, that his majesty would ever regard them with the affection of a father; that he would continually afford them all possible aid and protection; and that he should look on every day of his life as lost, in which he did not give them some fresh mark of his royal munificence. M. Vockerodt then read the oath of allegiance, which the deputies, and all the nobility, repeated with a loud voice. While this was reading, the king sat, and was covered; but when the declaration was making in his name, he stood, and was uncovered. When the oath was over, every one in his rank advanced to the throne, laid his hand upon the Bible, and kissed the hilt of the king's sword, in token of inviolable fidelity. Count Podewills then concluded the ceremony with a short complimentary speech, which he made in the king's name, to the whole body of Silesians; acquainting them

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them with the great satisfaction which the conclusion of this important business gave to his majesty; and again assuring them of his protection, and of the full enjoyment of all their antient rights and privileges. This speech was received with loud acclamations; "long live the king of Prussia," "long live our sovereign lord," resounded from every part of the assembly; which Frederick answered with a bow; and, descending from the throne, was attended by the whole assembly to his carriage ⁸⁶.

AFTER the conclusion of this ceremony a sumptuous dinner was given by the king, to which all persons of rank were invited. When the desert appeared, silver dishes were also brought, filled with gold and silver medals, struck for the occasion; and to every person was presented one gold and two silver medals. In the evening the king gave a grand masquerade ball, and a magnificent supper. The whole city of Breslaw was illuminated; and even the Jesuits, Carmelites, and Capuchins, were at considerable expence in the illumination of their monasteries ⁸⁷. The king set out for Berlin a few days after, where he was received with great joy by the inhabitants. He left count Munchow, one of his generals, to preside over the government and revenues of Silesia [G].

DURING

⁸⁶ Letters, vol. I. p. 70—75. ⁸⁷ Ibid. vol. I. p. 76, 77.

[G] Voltaire, speaking of the king of Prussia's conquest of Silesia, says, "He has written the history of that conquest, and

" he

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DURING the time that the king of Prussia was employed in making himself master of Silesia, the affairs of the queen of Hungary were in many respects in a situation extremely critical. She had been crowned at Presburg on the 24th of June, 1741; but the elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge her as queen of Hungary and Bohemia; alleging his own pretensions to both those countries, by virtue of a clause in the will of the

‘he shewed me the whole of it. Here follows one of the curious paragraphs, in the introduction to these annals, which I, in preference, carefully transcribed, as a thing *unique* in its kind. “Add to the foregoing considerations, I had troops entirely prepared to act; this, the fulness of my treasury, and the vivacity of my character, were the reasons why I made war upon Maria Theresa, queen of Bohemia and Hungary.” And a few lines after, he has these very words: “Ambition, interest, and a desire to make the world speak of me, vanquished all, and war was determined on.”

‘From the time that conquerors, or fiery spirits that would be conquerors, first were, to the present hour, I believe he is the only one who has ever done himself thus much justice. Never man, perhaps, felt reason more forcibly, or listened more attentively to his passions; but this mixture of a philosophic mind, and a disorderly imagination, have ever composed his character.

‘It is much to be regretted, that I prevailed on him to omit these passages, when I afterwards corrected his works; a confession so uncommon, should have passed down to posterity, and have served to shew upon what motives the generality of wars are founded. We authors, poets, historians, and academician declaimers, celebrate these fine exploits; but here is a monarch who performs and condemns them.’ *Memoirs*, ut supra, p. 52—55.

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emperor Ferdinand I. Cardinal Fleury, who was at this time prime minister of France, was desirous of maintaining the pragmatic sanction, and of preserving the peace of Europe; but, by the influence of the count de Belleisle, and his brother, in the French councils, it was determined to support the claims of the elector of Bavaria, in order to lessen the power of the house of Austria; and in this scheme the cardinal, who was in his eighty-fifth year, was at length prevailed upon to concur. It was proposed to send a numerous body of French troops into Germany, who, in conjunction with the Bavarian troops, should seize upon Austria, Bohemia, and the finest provinces of the queen of Hungary; and besides supporting the claims of the elector of Bavaria to the Austrian succession, he was also, by the intrigues of France, to be raised to the imperial throne. The count de Belleisle was accordingly advanced to the rank of mareschal, and sent into Germany in the double capacity of ambassador and general. He concluded a treaty with the elector of Bavaria at Nymphenburg, by which the French king engaged to assist that prince with his whole force, in order to raise him to the imperial throne; and the elector, on his part, promised, that, after his elevation, he would never attempt to recover any of the towns or provinces of the empire, which the French should have conquered; that he would, in his imperial capacity, renounce the barrier treaty, and agree, that France might

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might retain irrevocably whatever places should be reduced by her arms in the Austrian Netherlands. The count de Belleisle also concluded a treaty between Lewis XV. and the king of Prussia, in which it was stipulated, that the elector of Bavaria, together with the imperial crown, should possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the country of Tirol; that Augustus III. king of Poland, and elector of Saxony, should be gratified with Moravia and Upper Silesia; and that his Prussian majesty should retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss, and county of Glatz ^{ss}.

WHEN these treaties were concluded, the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces, entered Austria without opposition, and immediately made himself master of the imperial city of Passau, which separated Upper Austria from Bavaria. He then marched into Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and there received the homage of the states of that country. From thence several detachments of his troops advanced within three leagues of Vienna, the inhabitants of which expected to be besieged, and began to make preparations for their defence. One of the suburbs was almost totally pulled down, together with a palace that was near the fortifications; and the Danube was covered with a multitude of boats, which conveyed the most valuable effects of the inhabitants to places of greater safety. The elector of Bavaria

^{ss} Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 72.

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proceeded so far, as to send a summons of surrender to count Kevenhuller, who was then governor of Vienna ⁸⁹.

IN this distressful situation of her affairs, the queen of Hungary had expected some powerful assistance from the king of Great Britain, who had professed his desire to support the house of Austria, and who had raised a considerable body of troops for that purpose. The parliament of England had also voted three hundred thousand pounds, for the service of the queen of Hungary. But a French army having been sent into Westphalia, under the command of mareschal Maillebois, his Britannick majesty was so apprehensive for the safety of his electoral dominions, that he signed a treaty of neutrality, and even engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria, at the ensuing election of an emperor.

THE queen of Hungary now seemed abandoned by her allies, and devoted to destruction; but her courage did not forsake her. She left the care of her affairs at Vienna to her husband and her generals, and retired to Presburg; where, having assembled the states of Hungary, she appeared before them with her eldest son, yet an infant, in her arms, and addressed them in a pathetic speech, in the Latin language, to the following purport:

“ Abandoned by my friends, persecuted by my
 “ enemies, and attacked by my nearest relations,

⁸⁹ Voltaire's Age of Lewis XV. ch. 6.

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"I have no other resource but in your fidelity
 "and valour, and in my own perseverance. I
 "deliver into your hands the daughter and son of
 "your kings, whose safety depends on your con-
 "duct." Affected and animated by this address
 to them, the Hungarians drew their sabres, and
 cried out with one voice, *Moriamur pro nostro rege*
Maria Theresia; Let us die in the defence of our
 king Maria Theresia. "They always," says Vol-
 taire, "give the title of king to their queen: in
 "fact, no princess ever better deserved that title."
 The Hungarian states published a manifesto against
 the elector of Bavaria; and, by a solemn act, they
 perpetually excluded him and his posterity from
 the throne of Hungary.

In the mean time, the king of Prussia detached
 ten thousand men, from his army in Silesia, to
 join the French and Bavarian forces. But the Hun-
 garian nobility were now in arms; and the money
 which had been voted by the parliament of Eng-
 land, and which was now remitted to the queen of
 Hungary, was extremely beneficial to her affairs;
 by enabling her to pay her army, erect magazines,
 and complete her warlike preparations. Count
 Palfy, an old Hungarian nobleman, whom the
 queen honoured with the name of father, marched
 to the relief of Vienna with thirty thousand men.
 The garrison of that city being thereby strongly
 reinforced, the elector of Bavaria quitted his de-

* Age of Lewis XV. *ut supra*.

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sign of besieging it, and marched into Bohemia. Being there joined by twenty thousand Saxons, he laid siege to Prague. The place was stormed, and taken by assault, on the 26th of October, by the gallantry of the famous Maurice count Saxe [H]; who exhibited, on this occasion, great moderation and humanity. He not only saved the city from being plundered, but protected the persons of the inhabitants from violence or insult. The elector of Bavaria now made his public entry into Prague, and was crowned king of Bohemia in the month of December. The Prussians, under mareschal Schwerin, also entered Moravia, and made themselves masters of Olmutz; but the queen of Hungary's generals, Berenclau and Mentzel, defeated count Thoring, who commanded eight thousand men, at the pass of Scardingen, and opening their way into Bavaria, laid the whole country under contribution; while count Kevenhuller retook the

[H] Voltaire says of count SAXE, who was natural son of Augustus II. king of Poland, that 'This general inherited his father's peculiar strength of body, together with the mildness of his temper, and equal courage; but he possessed much superior talents for war. His reputation was so great, that the inhabitants had, with one voice, elected him duke of Cour-land; but the Russians, who gave laws to the North, had deprived him of that dignity, which the suffrage of a whole people had granted to his merit. He comforted himself, however, for his loss, in the service of France, and in the agreeable society of that nation, which, as yet, was a stranger to his many great qualifications.' *Age of Lewis XV. ch. 6.*

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city of Lintz, and drove the French troops out of Austria. On the 4th day of January following, the elector of Bavaria was chosen emperor of Germany, and was afterwards crowned at Franckfort on the Maine, by the name of Charles the Seventh. But the elevation of this prince to the imperial dignity was no accession to his felicity: on the contrary, it was productive of events, by which his days were shortened and embittered.

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Splendour of the court of Berlin, after the return of the king from Silesia.—Marriage of the Prince of Prussia.—The king sets out from Berlin in the midst of winter, in order to join his army, and oppose the progress of the Austrians.—He has an interview with the king of Poland.—He arrives at Prague, and proceeds from thence to Glatz in Bohemia, and afterwards to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia.—The town of Iglau taken by prince Thierri of Anhalt Dessau.—Frederick makes himself master of Znaym.—Abandons Olmutz, and retreats out of Moravia.—He defeats the Austrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, at Czaſlaw, in Bohemia.—Concludes a peace with the queen of Hungary.—He returns to Berlin.—Difficulties to which the French are reduced, after Frederick had concluded a separate peace with the court of Vienna.—The distressful situation of the emperor.

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AFTER the return of the king of Prussia from the conquest of Silesia, his court at Berlin, at the commencement of the year 1742, was extremely splendid. "Since Christmas," says Bielfeld, "Berlin has been crowded with strangers of the first rank; among whom are reckoned fourteen sovereign princes. Every thing that could possibly contribute to their entertainment,

" during

“ during their residence in this city, has been done
 “ by his majesty’s command. . Every day was dis-
 “ tinguished, either by some royal feast, or some
 “ new kind of diversion ⁹¹.”

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ON the 6th of January, the king’s eldest brother, William Augustus, prince of Prussia, was married to the princess Louisa Amelia, daughter of the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel; and their nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence. The king himself attended this ceremony, in a dress unusually gay, and which is thus described by Bielefeld. “ His majesty’s coat was of a silver stuff, with a shoulder knot, but the waistcoat and facings were of a gold and silver brocade; all these were heightened by the yellow ribband, and the star; and gave this monarch, in my eyes, so young, so gay and graceful an air, that I could not have refrained from loving him, although he had been a stranger ⁹².” It had been the custom of the house of Brandenburg, as well as of other German courts, for some courtier to present any new-married princess, on the day after her nuptials, with a crown of flowers; and to address, at the same time, a short oration to the bride, relative to the state into which she had just entered. On this occasion this ceremony was performed, and the coronary oration pronounced, by

⁹¹ Letters, vol. I. p. 94.

⁹² Ibid. p. 98.

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A. D. court, by baron Bielfeld [1].

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BUT the king of Prussia was not long occupied in these ceremonies, and in these pacific amusements. He soon engaged in employments of a very different nature, and more suited to his active, enterprizing, and warlike character. The French and Bavarians, at the close of the preceding year, had the mortification to see all the places of strength, which they had conquered in Austria, retaken by count Kevenhuller. That Austrian general also ravaged Bavaria, and made himself master of Munich, the capital of that electorate. The king of Prussia, therefore, thought it necessary that he should immediately exert himself, in order to oppose the progress of the Austrians. Accordingly, he set out from Berlin on the 18th of January, and lodged that night at Elsterwerda, a house belonging to the king of Poland, about six leagues from Dresden⁹¹. He set out the next morning for that city, where he arrived about noon.

THE king of Poland received him with great expressions of joy and friendship, and the remainder of that day was employed in the pleasures of the carnival. But the king of Prussia was not inclined to spend much time in these amusements. The

[1] Bielfeld's oration on this occasion is printed in his *Lectures*, vol. I. p. 110—116.

⁹¹ King of Prussia's Campaigns, written by an officer, translated from the French, p. 3, Lond. 12mo. 1763.

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very next morning he entered into serious conferences with his Polish majesty, concerning military operations. The result was, that a resolution was formed of marching to drive prince Lobkowitz from a post which he then held in the neighbourhood of Iglau, and of making a diversion into Moravia and the Lower Austria. That no time might be lost, Frederick proceeded on his march the same day, and on the 21st arrived at Prague, where he had an interview with the count of Bavaria, and the French generals. From Prague he proceeded to Old Bolesla, from thence to Konigsgratz, and on the 24th of the month he arrived at GLATZ, a town in Bohemia, which had before submitted to the Prussian arms; but it had a strong fortress, to which the garrison retired, and who made a vigorous defence. After the king's arrival, he was informed, that the countess of Grunn, who was married to a lieutenant-colonel of the garrison, had made a vow, before the town surrendered, that in case the blockade of it should be soon raised, she would present a fine suit of cloaths to the Madonna of the Jesuits. Frederick, therefore, in order to shew that his respect for the Virgin was not inferior to that of the countess, bought as many yards of the finest stuff he could procure, as was necessary to make a large robe for the Virgin, and sent a message to the convent of Jesuits, acquainting them, that being informed of the fruitless vow which had been made by the countess,

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and knowing his men better than she, he did not intend that our Lady should be a loser; and, therefore, offered her in reality what madam de Grunni had promised her in vain. The Jesuits were charmed with this mark of piety in the king; and came, in great formality, to return his majesty thanks, for this testimony of his favour to them, and of his devotion to the Virgin ⁹⁴.

AT Glatz the king was joined by his brother prince Henry, and such of his retinue as had not attended him when he left Berlin. He set out, on the twenty-sixth of the month, for Landscron, through the ice and snow which then covered the formidable chain of mountains between Moravia and Bavaria. At Landscron he found the count de Saxe, who, at that time, commanded the Saxon troops, and the count de Polastron, a lieutenant-general of the French army, who had come thither to receive the king's orders, both of them being to serve in the projected attack of prince Lobkowitz at Iglau.

HAVING rested his troops one day at Landscron, the king proceeded on the day following to Olmutz, the capital of Moravia. Here he was lodged in the castle of the count de Lichtenstein, who was bishop of Olmutz. He continued there about three days, waiting for the arrival of some troops who were to join him. But some ceremonies,

⁹⁴ King of Prussia's Campaigns, ut supra, p. 5.

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which were thought necessary to be observed in the bishop's castle, being not agreeable to Frederick, he removed from thence, and took up his lodgings in the city. On the fifth of February, having been joined by some fresh troops, he quitted Olmutz, and proceeded to the little town of Wischaw. The following day he set out, at the head of four hundred hussars, two battalions of grenadiers, and the Glafenapp battalion of infantry. In the course of this day's march he was joined by the second battalion of the regiment of Schwerin; and in the evening arrived at the village of Jedowitz. This place is so surrounded with rugged mountains, that it is difficult either to get in or out of it. It being but an inconsiderable village, and the weather extremely severe, the king lodged his hussars at a neighbouring castle, and caused his grenadiers to march a league farther. The battalion of Glafenapp was also obliged to take other quarters; so that the king remained alone with the regiment of Schwerin, exposed to the incursions of the garrison of Brunn, which was only two leagues distant. The rest of the Prussian regiments, both of horse and foot, were cantoned as near as possible, in order to be ready to join, if circumstances should render it necessary.

THE next morning Frederick again marched with his forces, and proceeded from Jedowitz to Gourein. This day's march continued ten hours, and was extremely fatiguing: the road for more than

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than two leagues being one continued defile, between two dreadful precipices, through which a broad waggon could scarcely pass. Three men only could march in front; and the ice made the roads so slippery, that the feet of the soldiers, at every step, seemed to go backwards rather than forwards. The cannon were with great difficulty drawn through this pass; and many accidents retarded the progress of the troops. But Frederick himself marched the greatest part of the way on foot: and the soldiers were greatly animated by observing the personal fatigue which the king underwent, and the spirit and cheerfulness which he displayed⁹⁵. Parties of Austrian hussars often reconnoitred and approached the Prussians; but no attempt was made to attack them.

ON the fourteenth of the same month, the king detached eighteen battalions of foot, fourteen squadrons of dragoons, and two thousand light horse, under the command of prince Thierri of Anhalt Dessau, to make an attempt upon the town of IGLAU. The troops sent upon this expedition consisted partly of Prussians, and partly of Saxons; and on the day following the town was taken, and prince Thierri garrisoned it with Saxon troops. Four days after, the king himself arrived at ZNAYM, a frontier town of Moravia, of which he made him-

⁹⁵ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 11.

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self master, and in which he found some provisions, old cannon, and a great quantity of ball ⁹⁶.

IN March, prince Thierrri made himself master of the town and castle of GOEDING on the frontiers of Hungary; and the king detached major-general de Posadowski, and colonel de Schmettau, with three battalions of foot, and two thousand horse, to scour the country round Vienna, and to raise contributions. Heavy contributions were, indeed, levied by the king of Prussia on the Austrian inhabitants of these countries in the course of his progress ⁹⁷; and they sometimes experienced considerable evils even from the Austrian troops, though they suffered still greater calamities from the Prussians [K]. On the twenty-fifth of April, the citadel

⁹⁶ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 15, 18.

⁹⁷ Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XII. p. 111. Campaigns of the King of Prussia, ut supra, p. 19.

[K] The author of the *King of Prussia's Campaigns*, who was present in the Prussian camp, at the time when the Austrians expected that the siege of Brinn was about to commence, says, General Rothe, at that time commandant of Brinn, endeavoured to prevent, as long as he could, the blockade of that town: for he had begun to burn the villages that were nearest to it, and was proceeding farther as the Saxons approached; which they did from the 24th to the 29th of March, and consequently more slowly than the king had commanded. We saw every evening some habitations in flames, and reckoned fifteen country towns and villages, which the enemy had themselves reduced to ashes. P. 30.

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tadel of Glatz, which had sustained a long siege, surrendered to the arms of Frederick. The garrison, which at the beginning of the blockade, had amounted to more than fifteen hundred, when it marched out consisted only of two hundred and sixty men bearing arms, and three hundred sick; all the rest being dead, except some who had deserted. Thirty-six brass cannon were found in the fortress, together with some mortars, and warlike stores⁹⁸.

Of the cruelties exercised by the Prussians, the following passage from the same work affords no inconsiderable evidence. 'On the 16th of April, we proceeded to Hoen-Mauth; where the king had advice, that the rear-guard of the Saxons had been attacked by a detachment from the garrison of Brinn and that four companies of the count de Kosell's regiment commanded by colonel Sedenz, had been entirely cut to pieces except the colonel, and nine private men, who, after a gallant resistance, surrendered prisoners of war. They also lost several pieces of cannon. General Jasmoud, who was marching to their relief, came too late. But because the peasants had fired upon him, and he understood that they had assisted in the massacre of the Saxons, together with their wives and children, he made reprisals on them, and extirpated all the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex.' *Ibid.* p. 36, 37. The crime of which these Austrian peasants had been guilty, and for which so bloody a revenge was taken, was that of joining with the troops of their own nation, in fighting against the invaders of their country. It does not appear even from this relation, written by an officer in the Prussian service, that quarter had been refused to such of the Saxons as would throw down their arms.

⁹⁸ Campaigns of the King of Prussia, p. 52.

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THE king of Prussia was active and alert in his operations against the Austrians; but many circumstances conspired to prevent his obtaining the success against them that he desired. The Austrian army, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the grand duke of Tuscany, was very considerable; and prince Lobkowitz had also a large body of Austrian forces under his command. The French and Saxon generals did not readily act in concert with the king of Prussia; and a jealousy likewise subsisted between the French generals, Belleisle and Broglio, which prevented them from acting with sufficient vigour against the Austrians. These circumstances, therefore, obliged Frederick to adopt a different mode of conduct from that which he had intended; and as he received certain intelligence, that prince Charles of Lorrain, at the head of thirty thousand infantry, and eighteen thousand cavalry, was advancing against him, he found it necessary to abandon Olmutz, and to retreat from Moravia. But the Prussian regiments were previously ordered to lay the country entirely waste, in order to deprive the Austrian troops of subsistence, if they should endeavour to establish themselves there.

THE retreat of the king of Prussia was considered as an event of great importance by the Austrians, as it appeared to afford them an opportunity of uniting their whole force against the French under Belleisle and Broglio. But the Prussian monarch, hav-

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ing received a considerable reinforcement under the prince of Anhalt Dessau, marched to the relief of his allies in Bohemia. On the 13th of May, the king was encamped, in a very advantageous situation, near Chrudim [L]. But prince Charles of

[L] Of the camp at CHRUDIM, and the king's march to it, the following particulars are related by the author of the *King of Prussia's Campaigns*. 'The king set out for Chrudim at eight o'clock in the morning, at the head of the two battalions of his guards, and marched to the eminence designed for the general quarters. The weather was extremely fine; and the prospect of the plains and mountains, which are seen from the top of this eminence, as agreeable as you can possibly conceive. This was very charming in itself; but what rendered the sight still more brilliant, was, that you could perceive columns of infantry and cavalry, coming from all quarters, like lines drawn from different points to reunite in a center. You know the beauty of our men, and the implements of war: yet I may venture to tell you, that you can scarcely form an adequate idea thereof; as I am persuaded, that the most fertile imagination cannot draw to the life a picture so exquisitely compleat. The columns were marching from all parts over the plain, and one might see them distinctly from the general quarters; but as they had some passes and defiles to come through, before they could arrive, one would have thought they came out of the heart of the mountains, and the very bowels of the earth. *Parturiunt montes, &c.* says Horace: but here, instead of the poet's mouse, you might see strong stout men, and excellent soldiers. Even the king seemed to be affected with such a glorious spectacle.'

'I admired, that day, the manner in which the king, though fatigued, yet not satisfied with seeing every regiment take its proper place in the camp, made the tour of the whole, and

took

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of Lorrain having also marched into Bohemia, Frederick resolved to engage him, before he could form a junction with the Austrian forces under the command of prince Lobkowitz. He, therefore, quitted his camp at Chrudim, and marched, on the fifteenth of the month, towards CZASLAU. On the seventeenth, at seven o'clock in the morning, the Austrian and Prussian armies came in sight of each other near that town. An engagement took place between them about an hour after; when the action began by the fire of the Prussian artillery, which threw the left wing of the Austrians into some disorder⁹⁹. The Prussian cavalry also attacked that of the Austrians with great impetuosity, and for some time had the advantage; but some of the Austrian squadrons fought with so much ardour, that the Prussians gave way, and the Austrian hussars penetrated to the Prussian camp, and began to plunder the baggage. In the mean time, the infantry of both armies were closely engaged, and the Prussian infantry fought with such determined bravery, that prince Charles of Lorrain at length found it necessary to retreat, and the king of Prussia remained master of the field of battle [M].

OF

“took the trouble himself to post the picquets and guards on the left wing, leaving the disposition of those on the right to the general prince Leopold.” P. 57, 58, 59.

“King of Prussia’s Campaigns, p. 64.

[M] The author of the *King of Prussia’s Campaigns* says, that “the fields before Chotouitz, and all round it, which had

M 2

“been

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OF the troops which engaged at the battle of CZASLAU, the number of the Austrians was superior to that of the Prussians. The Austrian army consisted of thirty-seven battalions of infantry, eighty-four squadrons of cavalry, and twenty squadrons of hussars. The Prussian army consisted of thirty-three battalions of infantry, sixty squadrons of cavalry, and ten squadrons of hussars¹⁰⁰. It was a hard fought battle; and though the victory was gained by the Prussians, yet the Austrians are said to have carried off some of the Prussian standards¹⁰¹. The action lasted about four hours. The loss of men in the two armies was variously represented; but the Austrians appear to have had about six thousand men killed, wounded, and taken pri-

“ been the scene of the most bloody part of the battle, were quite covered with Austrian grenadiers, and the best of their foot, who had fallen in the action; and the roads, through which they directed their flight, were, in like manner, strewn with their dead, dying, and wounded.” P. 69.

This writer, speaking of the behaviour of the king in the action, says, that “ during the whole engagement, he maintained a composure and presence of mind that was truly admirable.” P. 68. The same writer also says of prince Charles of Lorraine, that “ his dispositions for the battle were very good; and with regard to his personal behaviour, all the army bears him testimony, that he gave authentic proofs of uncommon valour.” P. 85.

¹⁰⁰ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 71.

¹⁰¹ Gent. Mag. vol. XII. p. 277.

soners.

soners [N]. The loss sustained by the Prussians, though not equal, seems not to have been greatly inferior. Many officers, and some of them of rank, were killed and wounded on both sides. Seventeen brass cannon, which the Austrians were obliged to abandon, fell into the hands of the Prussians. An Austrian general, and a lieutenant colonel, who had been wounded in the action, and taken prisoners, afterwards dying of their wounds, the king of Prussia ordered them to be interred with all the honours and ceremonies due to their military rank. Prince Charles of Lorraine returned his Prussian majesty thanks, for this mark of respectful attention to these deceased officers; and the king's behaviour on this occasion was extremely acceptable to the officers in the Austrian service ¹⁰².

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AFTER the battle of Czaflau, the king of Prussia wrote a letter to marechal Broglio, to which he added the following postscript: "I have acquitted myself towards my allies, for my troops have just obtained a compleat victory. It is your business to avail yourself of it immediately, otherwise you may have something to answer for to

[N] According to the writer of the *King of Prussia's Campaigns*, the loss of the Austrians was, however, much greater. He says, that count Schmettau affirmed, that he had seen an authentic list of prince Charles of Lorraine's army, by which his loss, at the battle of Czaflau, amounted to ten thousand men.

¹⁰² King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 79.

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“ your allies ¹⁰³.” It is said, that Broglio had long suspected, that the king of Prussia would not act in such a manner as to promote the views of France; and that he had repeatedly written to his court, that “ they ought to have no reliance upon the “ king of Prussia, who had nothing but his own “ interest in view; and that before long he would “ be seen taking the part of the queen of Hungary; or at least making peace with her, regardless of France and her allies ¹⁰⁴.” But Broglio’s letters met with no credit at Versailles, because mareschal Belleisle, who frequently visited the Prussian monarch in his camp, and who seems to have been amused by him, strongly assured the French court of the firmness of his attachment to the alliance. Belleisle, however, was somewhat alarmed at the postscript of the king’s letter to Broglio; and repaired to his camp, in order to persuade him to be firm to their cause. Frederick on this occasion said to him, “ I give you notice, “ that prince Charles is advancing upon mareschal “ Broglio, and that if he does not avail himself of “ the advantage I have had over the prince, I shall “ make my own terms ¹⁰⁵.”

Soon after the battle of Czaulau, the king of Prussia encamped his army, very advantageously,

¹⁰³ The Private Life of Lewis XV. translated by Mr. Justamond, vol. II. p. 86. ¹⁰⁴ Id. *ibid.* ¹⁰⁵ Id. *ibid.*

in the neighbourhood of Kuttenberg [o] and the Elbe; but a negociation was about this time set on foot for a separate peace between him and the

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[o] Of Frederick's camp at KUTTENBERG, the following account is given by the author of the *King of Prussia's Campaigns*. 'On the first of June our left wing decamped, and marched in two columns to join the right, which had entered the new camp that morning.—The right wing is covered by the little town of Maleschau, and the left by the eminences near the village of Neschkaretitz; so that the extent from wing to wing is three quarters of a German mile. Our front is every where inaccessible, having all along it morasses, hollow ways, and very narrow defiles. In the few places where an enemy might attempt to beat up our quarters, the king has caused strong redoubts to be built, and well provided with artillery, which render those places as little liable to insult as the rest. The right flank is covered also by morasses and hollow ways, and the left by small rivulets and marshes. In the rear of the camp there are numerous pits of prodigious depth; and these pits, which are the remains of the silver mines formerly worked in this place, reach from the right wing to the town of Kuttenberg; which town, together with a vast number of hollow ways, covers the rear of our left wing. Before the middle of the front, and beyond the morasses, there is a wood of oaks, which begins at the top of an eminence, and reaches all the way down its sides to these morasses, the dikes and causeways whereof are occupied by posts of infantry. In the wood itself is encamped count Hauditz's regiment of hussars, which defends the entrance into it, and if pushed can fall back under the fire of the posts of infantry. You will understand by this description, though imperfect, that our camp is very strong, and that the king, by this position, has it in his power to accept, or to decline a battle, at his pleasure. All the connoisseurs admire it, and agree, that the choice is worthy of its author.' P. 80, 81, 82.

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queen of Hungary. The present situation of affairs, and particularly the consequences of the defeat of the Austrian army at Czaflau, rendered a peace desirable to the court of Vienna; and the king of Prussia was not averse to it [P]. Frederick

[P] The author of the *Private Life of Lewis XV.* says, 'The queen of Hungary had been sensible of the necessity of getting rid of an enemy so formidable, from his vicinity, his youth, his activity, his valour, his prudence, and from the combination of the several qualities that constitute the general, the politician, and the statesman. She resolved to give up to him what he had conquered; she, therefore, made proposals to him, convinced that by this sacrifice she might preserve the rest of her dominions, and perhaps revenge herself for her losses upon the rest of her enemies. The king of Prussia, on his part, was perfectly satisfied with obtaining by treaty the fruits of two campaigns, which he might have lost again by the fate of arms, and he had no hopes of gaining any farther acquisitions. He foresaw, that the burthen of the war would in a short time fall entirely upon him. The emperor's troops, which were commanded by bad generals, and were feeble in themselves, were subsisted only by the money of France, and would necessarily disperse whenever that should fail; which it must soon do. The Saxons had given no proofs of great bravery, and had been of no use. When the first fire of the French was once extinguished, it was to be apprehended that their army, being at a distance from home, would grow disheartened, would dwindle for want of recruits, would disband itself, or perish for want. Prudence required him to prevent all these misfortunes, and even to affect a moderation, which is always becoming to conquerors, and to aggrandize his dominions while he spared the blood of his subjects. He was not restrained by his engagements with his allies; he had begun the war singly, and had made his conquests himself; he, there-

rick and prince Charles of Lorrain had a private interview ¹⁰⁶; and the earl of Hyndford, ambassador from the court of Great Britain, who was present in the Prussian camp, endeavoured to facilitate the negotiation. That nobleman was, indeed, vested, by her Hungarian majesty, with full powers to treat with the Prussian monarch ¹⁰⁷. A treaty was at length concluded at Breslaw, on the 11th of June, by which the queen of Hungary ceded to the king of Prussia not only the Upper and Lower Silesia, excepting the duchies of Jagern-dorff, Teschen, and Troppau; but also the principality of Glatz in Bohemia. The king of Prussia charged himself with the payment of the sums lent, by the merchants of London, to the late emperor, on the Silesian revenues. He likewise engaged to observe a strict neutrality during the war, and to withdraw his forces from Bohemia in fifteen days after the ratification of the treaty, in which were comprehended the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, the czarina, the king of Denmark, the States-General, the house of Wolfenbuttel, and

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'therefore, thought himself entitled to secure them; he considered himself as having done enough for his allies, in having assisted their several invasions by the powerful diversions he had made.' Vol. II. p. 84, 85.

¹⁰⁶ Memoirs of Frederick III. King of Prussia, p. 63. Gent. Mag. vol. XII. p. 333.

¹⁰⁷ Smollet's Hist. of England from the Revolution, published as a Continuation of Hume, vol. III, p. 78. edit. 8vo. 1785,

the

CONT. VI. the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, on certain
A. D. conditions, which were accepted.

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WHEN every thing relative to the treaty of Breslaw was concluded, the king of Prussia quitted his camp at Kuttенberg, and set out for Koningsgratz, where he arrived on the 26th of the month¹⁰⁸. Besides his ordinary retinue, he was accompanied by the princes his brothers, and by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. Having passed a night at Koningsgratz, he proceeded the next day to Glatz, where he examined the fortifications, and gave directions for the erection of some additional works. On the twenty-ninth he arrived at Neiss, where also he ordered some new fortifications to be erected. On the third of July, he came to Breslaw, where he was present, two days after, at a numerous assembly, in the palace of the bishop, cardinal Zinzendorf. A grand ball was given by the cardinal on the seventh, at which the king was present; and the following day he attended at the cathedral, where a sermon was preached by the cardinal himself. He set out the next morning for Great Glogau, from whence he proceeded to Franckfort on the Oder, and on the 12th of the month, about noon, he arrived at Berlin, where he was received by his subjects with great joy, and with loud acclamations¹⁰⁹. A treaty of mutual defence and guaranty was afterwards concluded between the

¹⁰⁸ King of Prussia's Campaigns, ut supra, p. 93.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 94—102.

king of Great Britain and the king of Prussia; and which was ratified on the part of the former at Whitehall, on the eighteenth of November, 1742.

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AFTER the conclusion of the treaty of Breslaw, the French generals and troops in Bohemia found themselves in the most critical situation. Being now wholly deserted by the Prussians and Saxons, the mareschals Belleisle and Broglie abandoned their magazines and heavy baggage, and retired with precipitation under the cannon of Prague. There they encamped themselves in an advantageous situation; and prince Charles, being joined by the Austrian troops under prince Lobkowitz, encamped, in sight of them, on the hills of Girishnitz. The grand duke of Tuscany then arrived in the Austrian army, of which he took the command; and the French generals offered to surrender Prague, Egra, and all the other places they were in possession of in Bohemia, provided they were allowed to march off with their arms, artillery, and baggage. This proposal was rejected by the duke of Tuscany, and Prague was invested on all sides about the end of July. The operations of the siege were not well conducted; but the place was, however, so effectually blocked up, that famine must have compelled the French to surrender at discretion, if extraordinary efforts had not been made for their relief. In the mean time, the emperor had made advances to the queen of Hungary. He promised, that the French forces should quit Bohemia, and

evacuate

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evacuate the empire; and he offered to renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia, on condition that the Austrians would restore to him his electorate of Bavaria; but these conditions were declined by the court of Vienna.

THE king of France was soon made acquainted with the condition to which his generals, Belleisle and Broglio, were reduced; upon which he immediately sent orders to mareschal Maillebois, who commanded his army on the Rhine, to march to their relief. His troops were immediately put in motion; and when they reached Amberg in the Upper Palatinate, were joined by the French and Imperialists from Bavaria. Prince Charles of Lorraine, having received intelligence of their junction and design, left eighteen thousand men to maintain the blockade of Prague, under the command of general Festitz; while he himself, with the main body of his army, advanced towards the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to oppose Maillebois. He was there joined by the Austrian troops under count Kevenhuller, who from Bavaria had followed the enemy, now commanded by count Seckendorff, and the count de Saxe. But Seckendorff was sent back to Bavaria, and mareschal Maillebois entered Bohemia. He marched, however, with such precaution, that prince Charles could not bring him to an engagement. In the mean time general Festitz, for want of sufficient force, was obliged to abandon the blockade of Prague;

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Prague; and the French generals, being now at liberty, took post at Leutmaritz. Maillebois was then in Egra; so that a junction between him and the other French generals seemed not impracticable. But prince Charles, by taking possession of the passes in the interposing mountains, utterly defeated their scheme. Maillebois retreated to the palatinate, whither he was followed, and extremely harassed on his march, by prince Charles, while prince Lobkowitz, with a strong body of Austrian forces, obliged Belleisle and Broglio again to seek refuge in the capital of Bohemia.

THE French generals were now surrounded on all sides; but soon after the siege of Prague was resumed, Broglio made his escape in the habit of a courier, and took upon him the command of the army of Maillebois, who was now recalled by the French court. Prince Lobkowitz, who now directed the blockade of Prague, had so effectually cut off all communication between the city and the adjacent country, that the French troops were reduced to great extremities, both from the severity of the season, and the want of provisions. In this state of things, mareschal Belleisle secretly resolved to attempt a retreat. With great diligence he remounted his cavalry, and sent troops of them out every day to forage. At last, by making, in one quarter of the town, a feint for a general forage, he marched out at another, with eleven thousand foot, and three thousand horse, and gained a day's march.

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march of prince Lobkowitz. The great extent of the walls of Prague had rendered this attempt the more practicable; and the better to amuse the enemy, he left a small garrison in the city. He had ten leagues to march before he could reach the defiles. The cold was intense, and the ground covered with snow. All the inhabitants of the country were his enemies, and prince Lobkowitz, with an army of twelve thousand infantry, and eight thousand cavalry, hung on his rear. But, under all these disadvantages, he reached the defiles with his army unbroken. With so much judgment had he planned his route, that, though the Austrians occupied all the passes on the two principal roads that led to Egra, he was enabled to continue his progress, by striking through frozen marshes, which had, perhaps, never before been trodden by the foot of man; he himself always pointing the way, though confined to his carriage by the gout. After a fatiguing march of twelve days, he reached Egra, which was still in the hands of the French, and entered Alsace without the loss of a single man by the hands of the enemy; though more than eight hundred of his soldiers lost their lives, in consequence of the hardships they underwent, and the extreme rigour of the season ¹¹⁰.

DURING these transactions, the emperor of Germany was stripped of all his dominions; and being

¹¹⁰ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 82, 84. and Smollet, *ut supra*.

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now abandoned by his allies, he retired to Frankfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. "He was even destitute," says Voltaire, "of the means of supporting his family in that imperial city, in which no person would advance a penny to the chief of the empire." But mareschal de Noailles afforded him some assistance, by giving him a bill of credit for 40,000 crowns on the French king¹. Some attempts were now made towards an accommodation between the emperor and the queen of Hungary, but without success; and the Austrians having now taken possession of Prague, that princess was crowned queen of Bohemia in that city.

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¹ Age of Lewis XV. ch. 10.

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Frederick applies himself to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and establishes a new academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin.—Marriage of the princess Ulrica, the king's sister, with the prince-royal of Sweden.—Frederick again prepares for war.—His answers to the requisitions made by the earl of Hyndford, as ambassador from Great Britain.—He concludes a treaty at Frankfort, and engages to support the emperor.—Publishes a manifesto against the queen of Hungary, and sends rescripts to the different courts of Europe.

THE king of Prussia, after his return to Berlin, was extremely attentive to the regulation of the internal government of his kingdom, and to the forming such establishments as would contribute to its prosperity and splendour. He also visited different parts of his dominions, receiving as he passed petitions from his subjects, inquiring into their grievances, and into the administration of justice, the state of his revenues, and the condition of his troops. On these occasions he seldom staid longer at any place than was necessary to make the proper inquiries; and he travelled with a small retinue, and with great rapidity.

FROM the commencement of Frederick's reign, he had been solicitous to establish in his dominions

nions a respectable academy of sciences and belles lettres; but the operations of war had hitherto retarded his design. His grandfather, Frederick I. had instituted a royal society at Berlin for the promotion of science, the plan of which was formed, and the statutes of it drawn up, by the celebrated Leibnitz; who had been prevailed upon by the queen, Sophia Charlotte, to reside in the Prussian dominions. Leibnitz was appointed the first president, and continued in that office till his death. He obtained from the king, in behalf of the society, the exclusive privilege of printing all the almanacks used in the Prussian dominions; on condition that the society should furnish the public with every kind of almanack, composed with the greatest accuracy, and in the most convenient form ¹¹². The society derived considerable emolument from this privilege, and their almanacks were considered as the most correct and ingenious of any in Europe. By the income hence derived, the necessary expences of the society were defrayed, and pensions provided for such of the members as were resident at Berlin, and actively employed in scientific pursuits. At the recommendation of M. Leibnitz, the society also established an anatomical theatre, in which able professors were appointed to read public lectures, and who were furnished with proper subjects from the hospitals. While Leibnitz lived,

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¹¹² Bielsfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 153, 154.

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and during the reign of Frederick I. the society continued to be in a respectable state, and their transactions were regularly published. But after the accession of Frederick William, who paid little attention to literature or science, and therefore did not give much countenance to the society, it greatly declined, and sunk in its reputation. No part of the institution was regarded by the king, but that which related to anatomy, which he considered as beneficial to his army, because it promoted skill in surgery. In other respects, he treated the society with little regard [Q]; and by his direction persons of no merit, but who happened to be his favourites, were pensioned out of their revenues. On the accession of Frederick III. he invited learned men into his dominions, and assembled such persons together as were qualified to form a respectable academy. But the establishment of a new academy being delayed, by the military enterprises in which the king was engaged, marshal

[Q] Bielfeld says, "The king proposed to the society, from time to time, questions of mere drollery, and they answered him in a suitable strain. He once asked them, for example: "What was the physical cause, that two glasses, when filled with champaign wine, and struck against each other, gave not that clear and sharp tone, as when filled with any other wine? And what was the cause of their dull and flat sound." The members answered, that as they had not been used to drink champaign, they could not pretend to assign the cause. "The king sent them a dozen bottles to make the experiment. "They drank out the wine, but determined nothing." Letters, vol. I. p. 158.

Schmettau,

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Schmettau, field general of the ordnance, and M. Borck, cabinet minister to the king, agreed between themselves to collect a literary society, and to have their meetings at each others houses alternately. They opened their plan to baron Bielfeld and to M. Jordan, a privy counsellor, and a great favourite of the king. These gentlemen heartily concurred in the design, and many others were soon admitted into this new society. Their first meeting was at mareschal Schmettau's, and it was opened by M. Francheville, who read an ode composed for the occasion. They then sketched out a set of laws, in which the following positions were laid down as fundamental maxims: "That this was not an empire, or kingdom, but a republic of learning, the citizens of which must enjoy the greatest freedom, if any thing excellent was expected from their labours; that the understanding could suffer no restraint; that the members of this society were not pupils; and that there wanted no other regulations, but such as were necessary to preserve order, and to connect the members into a perfect union with each other."¹¹³

THE king being made acquainted with this new literary society, and having testified his approbation of it, it was soon resolved to institute a new ROYAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND BELLES LETTRES, by uniting this new society to the old

¹¹³ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 161, 162.

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royal society of Berlin. Accordingly by a royal edict, dated the thirteenth of November, 1743, his majesty appointed several commissioners, who were directed to inquire into the state of the finances of the old royal society, and to draw up the institutes of the new academy. Among the commissioners for this purpose were mareschal Schmettau, count Podewils, baron Bielfeld, and M. Jordan [R]. The whole plan was at length adjusted, and

[R] CHARLES STEPHEN JORDAN was born at Berlin, on the 27th of August, 1700. His father was a French Protestant, who having brought up three of his other sons to trade, resolved to bring up Charles Stephen, who was the youngest, to the church, though this destination seems not to have been agreeable to his son's inclination. Young Jordan had, however, a strong propensity to reading; and he was sent to study at Magdeburgh, under the eye of an uncle, one of the pastors of that place. In 1719, he was removed to Geneva, where he studied under the ablest professors in philosophy, eloquence, and divinity; and afterwards prosecuted his studies for some time at Lausanne. He returned to Berlin, and in 1725, was made minister of the parish of Potzlow, a village belonging to one of the marches of Brandenburg. In 1727, he was removed to Prentzlow, and then married Lausanne Perrault, a lady of great virtue and accomplishments, by whom he had two daughters. In this situation he lived very happily five years, performing in an exemplary manner the duties of the pastoral office; but in 1732 he lost his wife, which so much affected him, that his grief impaired his health, and brought on an expectoration of blood, which had nearly proved fatal to him. At this time the baroness of Knyphausen made a proposal to him, that he should undertake the care of her eldest son, and attend him in a journey to Holland, England, and France. He accepted

and approved by the king, who wrote an ode on the occasion, and was declared protector of the

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cepted of this offer, quitted his station as a minister, and travelled into those countries, where he became acquainted with some of the most eminent literary men of that age; and he afterwards published an account of his travels, in one volume, 12mo.

After his return to Berlin, in 1736, his merit as a literary man attracted the notice of the prince-royal of Prussia, who took him into his service, and whom he assisted in his studies. He resided with the prince at Rheinsberg till his accession to the throne, when he was made a privy counsellor, and henceforward particularly attended to the regulation of the police of Berlin. Under his inspection, the streets were cleared of beggars, and a workhouse was established, in which a thousand persons were subsisted by their own labour, without any expence to the state; and under his care the city of Berlin was also divided into wards, and a proper person appointed in each, to see the laws of the police duly obeyed. He attended also to the public schools, and other seminaries of learning, and was particularly attentive to the interests of the new academy of arts and sciences, over which he presided as vice-president. He attended the king into Silesia, at the time when he made a conquest of that province. After a long and painful illness, which he endured with great patience and resignation, he died at Berlin, on the 24th of May, 1745, in the forty-fifth year of his age. On account of his having wholly quitted the ministry, intimations had been thrown out, that he was a disbeliever of the Christian religion. But, a few days before his death, he said to baron Bielfeld, "Remember, that I die in the belief of the divine mission of Jesus Christ; and say it to the king, when you find a fit opportunity." The king himself wrote an *Eloge* upon him, which was read before the royal academy at Berlin, and which has been printed in French, English, and German. M. Jordan published a life of M. Croze, who had in the earlier part of his life assisted him in his studies; and also an *Recueil de Littérature, de Philosophie, & d'Histoire*, in 12mo.

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new academy. Four curators were appointed, who were to preside alternately, each for six months. These were mareschal Schmertau, count Gotter, M. Viereck, and M. Borck, all ministers of state; and M. Jordan was appointed vice-president. M. Jariges, a privy counsellor [s], was appointed secretary; and professor Formey academical historiographer [T]. The academy was divided into four

[s] The title of *privy-counsellor* in Prussia is merely an honorary title; at least it was so during the reign of the late king. It was not the custom of Frederick to ask any advice of his privy counsellors.

[T] J. H. SAMUEL FORMEY was born at Berlin in the year 1711, and early intended by his parents for the ministry. In 1720, he was placed in the French college, which he quitted in 1725, having gone through all its classes; and afterwards attended, for two years, M. la Croze, professor of philosophy. In 1727, he was admitted a *proposant*, an appellation given to young divines licensed to preach; and in 1731, he was called to the church of Brandenburg. But here he staid only a few weeks, being removed to the pastorate of the church of Frederickstadt at Berlin. He afterwards assisted M. de Beausobre in the *Bibliothèque Germanique*; and when that gentleman died, in 1738, he continued to execute a part of that work in conjunction with M. de Mauclerc. But M. de Mauclerc also dying in 1742, the whole of that publication was for some time written by M. Formey only. With the assistance of M. de Perast, he afterwards began *La Nouvelle Bibliothèque Germanique*; and for many years that literary journal was written by M. Formey alone, and published four times every year. But long before this period of his life, in the year 1737, he was made professor of eloquence in the French college; and in 1739, was promoted to the chair of philosophy.

four classes, each of which had its director and secretary. The first class had for its object the mathematics, in their full extent; the second, speculative philosophy, metaphysics, morality, the laws of nature and nations, &c. the third, physics, and experimental philosophy, including chymistry, &c. and the fourth was appropriated to literature and the polite arts. The academy was to meet every Thursday afternoon; and in each class, by rotation, some performance, relative to the business of that class, was to be read by one of the members. After the reading was over, it was the business of the secretary to give an account of all letters, propositions, or subjects of inquiry, which

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On the establishment of the new academy of sciences and belles lettres at Berlin, M. Formey was appointed historiographer, and in 1748 he was made perpetual secretary; and from that time he digested the *Memoires de l'Academie*. He also wrote many other works, in the French language, particularly the life of John Philip Barretier, from materials furnished by the father of that extraordinary young man; a concise History of Philosophy and Philosophers, which has been translated into English; an Abridgment of Ecclesiastical History, which has also been translated into English, in two volumes, 8vo. as has likewise a small volume of Philosophical Miscellanies, and Elementary principles of the belles lettres. He also published, Moral Discourses; Sermons; Principles of the law of nature and nations, &c. He had likewise projected a Philosophical Dictionary, and made a considerable progress in it; but upon the appearance of the plan of the *Encyclopedie*, he transmitted his materials to the editors of that great work, and many of the articles which he had written were inserted in it.

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had been communicated by foreign members, or other correspondents; and the members of the academy present also related any discoveries, or improvements in science, which they had made, and which they thought proper to communicate. Out of the papers read before the academy some were to be selected every year for publication: and there were to be two public annual meetings of the academy; one on the 24th of January, the king's birth-day; and the other on the 31st of May, the day of his accession to the throne ¹¹⁴.

AFTER the establishment of the new academy, one of the most remarkable events which took place at Berlin, about the same time, was the marriage of the princess Louisa Ulrica, the king's sister, with the prince-royal of Sweden. They were married in July, 1744. The prince of Prussia was proxy for the Swedish prince on this occasion. The ceremony was performed with great magnificence; and the king of Prussia himself appeared with unusual splendour of dress. "The king's dress," says Bielfeld, "was of a bright blue, completely covered with silver embroidery ¹¹⁵." A sumptuous entertainment [v] followed the ceremony; comedies,

¹¹⁴ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 165, 166, 167, 168.

¹¹⁵ Ibid. p. 180.

[v] Bielfeld says, 'The king sat down early to table, and to that where his majesty sat, none were admitted but princes and princesses, excepting the ladies of the ambassadors. All the

dies, operas, and balls, were given on several subsequent days; and a magnificent supper [v], in a gallery

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‘the dishes, plates, chandeliers, and, in short, every thing that was used at this table, was of solid gold. There were besides four other sumptuous tables, which were placed in rooms adjacent to the great hall; and, in every respect, this royal feast was conducted with a splendour and magnificence, which had never before been seen in Berlin. After dinner, there was danced, as usual, on the occasion, the dance of torches, which was followed by a ball, that lasted till broad day. The next day, which was Wednesday, there was a comedy, and in the evening an open table at court. On Thursday her majesty, the reigning queen, gave a noble entertainment at Schonhausen. On Friday there was an opera; and on Saturday her majesty, the queen mother, gave a supper, an illumination, and a ball, at Monbijoux.’ Letters, ut supra, p. 181, 182.

[v] ‘Monday afternoon,’ says Bielfeld, ‘the court, and the gentry of the town, of both sexes, went, with their gay carriages and liveries, to Charlottenbourg. This procession, by affording a very pleasing prospect, made part of the entertainments. The great road that goes through the Thiergarten of Berlin, and quite up to Charlottenbourg, was thronged with company. At different spaces on the road, tents were set up, where the citizens of Berlin reposed, refreshed, and amused themselves, with beholding the transition of the splendid equipages, some drawn by pairs, and some by sets of horses. When the company came to the palace, they assembled in the *orangerie*, which forms a gallery of a prodigious length. This whole gallery was adorned with wreaths and groups of flowers, and with lamps of various colours; and in every window was placed an orange tree in bloom, which, at the same time that they afforded a delightful prospect, gave a most agreeable scent to the whole apartment. At the end of this gallery was erected a small elegant theatre, where his majesty caused an Italian

‘operetta,

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gallery belonging to the royal palace of Charlotten-
bourg. The king wrote an ode on the departure

of

* *operetta*, or pastoral, to be performed, which was interspersed
* with very fine dances. The incomparable Solembini here ex-
* celled himself.

* When the opera was over, the whole court went on the
* great terrace, from whence they beheld the whole garden
* illuminated. After half an hour spent in walking, they sat
* down to supper. Never before did I eat at so great a table,
* and probably never shall again. It consisted of three hundred
* covers, and took up almost the whole *orangerie*, from one end
* to the other. All persons of any rank were admitted without
* distinction. The king, the queens, the princes, and princesses,
* sat at the middle of this table, under a sort of canopy; and on
* each side of them sat the cabinet ministers, the foreign minis-
* ters, and ladies of the first quality; and, after them, the rest
* of the company without ceremony, each one where he could
* find a place.

* The supper was magnificent, and every part of it in the
* highest perfection. There was not the least want of any thing,
* and the company was served with the greatest regularity and
* dispatch: for which purpose the king's whole livery, and a
* hundred huntsmen attended: and for their greater convenience,
* in every nich of the gallery was placed a side-board, where they
* found every thing necessary ready to their hands. As a vast
* number of plates and dishes were requisite to serve a table of
* three hundred persons, it was found necessary, on this occa-
* sion, to take a large quantity of plate out of the royal treasury,
* where it had been deposited by Frederick I. and Frederick
* William. In a word, every part of this repast was complete.
* The company sat long at table; and were greatly pleased with
* partaking of an entertainment that the king alone could give.

* After table the company returned to the garden; and on the
* Spree, that runs at the bottom of it, by his majesty's direction,

* a very

of his sister, and appeared to be much affected on the occasion. She is described as a very amiable princess [w].

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‘a very grand fire-work was played off. While this was performing, M. Frederstorf caused the table to be removed, and the *orangerie* prepared for a ball. We were astonished at our return. The alteration was so sudden, that it appeared to be the work of enchantment. The king opened the ball with the princess royal of Sweden, and the whole court danced till daylight: and on our return to Berlin, we found the road still filled with company.’ Letters, ut supra, p. 182—186.

[w] The following account is given by Bielfeld of the departure of the princess from Berlin: ‘At length the day of separation arrived. The king had appointed the chief marshal, count Gotter, to conduct the princess to Stralsund, where two Swedish senators, several of the nobility, with other ladies and gentlemen of the court, waited to receive her. His majesty, who judged, by the emotions of his own heart, that the moment of separation would be attended with the severest affliction, directed an opera to be performed, with a view to dissipate the thoughts of it: and ordered the ordinary table to be served in the great hall, with a cold, but very elegant collation.

‘The plan was so laid, that, after the opera, the princess should make a short supper, slip on her riding cloak, embrace her relations, throw herself into the coach, and depart like lightning. Count Gotter was charged to conduct this plan, and to hasten the departure. But all his care was useless. The transcendent virtues of the princess Ulrica made her too dear to her family, and her country, to suffer the cruel moment of eternal separation to pass without marks of the deepest distress.

‘When I entered the opera, I saw grief and dejection on every countenance. The princess was dressed in a rose coloured Amazonian habit, trimmed with silver: the lappets and vest

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BUT the king of Prussia was far from being wholly occupied in such domestic attentions, and pacific employments. In the midst of apparent peace, he

was

‘ vest were of a sea green. She had on an English hat of black
 ‘ velvet, adorned with a white feather; and her flowing hair
 ‘ was tied with a rose coloured ribband. She appeared as beau-
 ‘ tiful as love itself. But this elegant dress, which heightened
 ‘ her charms, increased our anxiety, by telling us, that the hour
 ‘ was come, when we were to lose her for ever. In the second
 ‘ act, the young prince Ferdinand came into the state-box, threw
 ‘ his arms round the princess’s neck, and bathing her with his
 ‘ tears, cried out, *Ad! my dear Ulrica, now it is done! now I*
 ‘ *shall never see you more!* The grief that lay smothering at every
 ‘ heart, touched by these words, burst forth with greater vio-
 ‘ lence. The princess held her brother fast in her arms, and
 ‘ could only answer with sighs and tears. The two queens could
 ‘ no longer refrain from weeping. The princes and princesses
 ‘ joined their tears.—The grief was infectious; it seized in a
 ‘ moment all the first ranks of the boxes, which were filled with
 ‘ the principal nobility. Every one had distinct cause for sor-
 ‘ row, and every one melted into tears. Nobody any longer
 ‘ regarded the opera, and I found my heart so oppressed and af-
 ‘ flicted, that I was glad when it was over.

‘ A secret motion carried me, against my will, into the pa-
 ‘ lace. I entered the king’s chamber, and found the whole royal
 ‘ family, surrounded by part of the nobility. Here was the
 ‘ fulness of sorrows. Every one was dissolved in grief: and here
 ‘ I beheld a scene, the more affecting as it was the mere work
 ‘ of nature; and where the sincerity of passion was expressed
 ‘ with an energy, that it is impossible for art to imitate. The
 ‘ king had written an ode on the departure of the princess,
 ‘ wherein he gave her the last adieu, in a most tender and af-
 ‘ fecting manner.—His majesty gave it the princess, at the mo-
 ‘ ment she was going to embrace the queen. She cast her eyes

‘ over

was preparing for war; and his preparations were so manifest, and so considerable, as to excite the jealousy and apprehension of the court of Vienna. At the beginning of the present year, a war had also broken out between England and France; and as a treaty of mutual defence and guaranty had been concluded between the king of Prussia, and the king of Great Britain, at the close of the year 1742, his Britannick majesty, by his ambassador, the earl of Hyndford, made a requisition to his Prussian majesty of a body of troops, in conformity to the terms of the treaty of mutual defence and guaranty, and also agreeably to some stipulations which had been made in the treaty of Breslaw. When lord

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‘over it; her spirits left her, and she fainted under the weight
‘of distress. Scarcely could the king restrain his spirits from
‘following her’s: the tears flowed hastily down his cheeks. All
‘the princes and princesses stood fixed in grief. At last count
‘Götter, who thought it was now time to end this mournful
‘scene, rushed into the chamber, like the north wind upon a
‘bed of roses, with noise and fury; forced through the circle;
‘snatched the princess from the arms of the queen her mother;
‘and bore her out of the chamber. The whole court followed;
‘and, in a moment, the princess found herself in the coach,
‘which stood in the court before the palace.—The countess of
‘Schwerin, who was appointed to accompany the princess to
‘Stralsund, and the ladies Von Knefbeck and Sparre, placed
‘themselves in the coach with her highness. The stroke was
‘instantaneous. The coachman drove furiously on; the coach
‘flew before our eyes; and, in a moment, the king and the
‘court lost sight of the beloved Ulrica for ever; and remained,
‘for some minutes, amazed and motionless. *Ibid.* p. 188—193.

Hynd-

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Hyndford had a private audience of the Prussian monarch on this subject, and expressed the confidence that his master had, that his Prussian majesty would comply with the stipulations of the treaties between Great Britain and Prussia, Frederick, after a short pause, replied to the British ambassador in the following terms: ‘ His Britannick majesty cannot render me greater justice, than in not doubting of my punctuality to execute the treaties I have concluded with him. My intention is to confirm him in this idea, by faithfully and literally fulfilling all my engagements. Not only ten thousand men shall be ready for the king your master, when it happens that he is the first attacked; but I will with pleasure, in such case, supply him even with thirty thousand; and, if needful, I will go at their head to defend Great Britain. But the case in question is quite different: his most Christian majesty pretends not to be the aggressor. He assures me, that he is not; and, on the contrary, maintains, that he is the offended, and even injured party; and that his Britannick majesty is the party attacking, having caused his troops to march into Alsace, and to make irruptions into that province. I am consequently, in the first place, indispensably bound, to examine seriously the reasons on both sides, to the end that I may not deviate from any of the treaties into which I have entered. In the meantime, his Britannick majesty may rest assured,

‘ that

‘that I shall take no step, which shall be contrary
 ‘to the neutrality which I am resolved punctually
 ‘to observe, unless any power of the empire shall
 ‘give me occasion to change my resolution in this
 ‘respect ¹¹⁶.’

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The earl of Hyndford was astonished at the king's speech; but, after his surprize was somewhat abated, he urged a variety of arguments, to shew that the French king ought to be considered as the first and sole aggressor. To these arguments Frederick answered, ‘All these reasons from you
 ‘are excellent; but how can you be assured, that
 ‘his most Christian majesty will not allege some
 ‘on his side that are equally weighty, and that will
 ‘plainly shew his Britannick majesty to be the aggressor?’ The British ambassador was about to reply, but the king put an end to the audience, by giving his excellency to understand, that it was the day of extraordinary dispatches, and that time pressed ¹¹⁷.

THE king of England afterwards wrote to his ambassador, and observed, that he could not comprehend that the least difficulty should have arisen about the execution of the treaties, which subsisted between him and his Prussian majesty. ‘It was
 ‘notorious,’ he said, ‘that the French king ought
 ‘to be considered as the sole aggressor in the pre-

¹¹⁶ Letter of lord Hyndford to king George II. published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XIV. p. 325, 326.

¹¹⁷ Id. *ibid*.

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‘ sent war. It was a very wicked pretence, that
 ‘ the sworn enemies of the house of Austria had
 ‘ made use of, in saying, that his Britannick ma-
 ‘ jesty should be regarded as the aggressor, when
 ‘ all the world knew, that immediately after the
 ‘ death of the late emperor, and long before the
 ‘ British troops had crossed the sea, France had
 ‘ formed factions in the empire, and soon after-
 ‘ wards caused her troops to march against her ma-
 ‘ jesty of Hungary, and to carry fire and sword
 ‘ with them into the Austrian dominions, and all
 ‘ this a year and a half before the British forces
 ‘ marched into Germany, and which, when they
 ‘ did go thither, only went as auxiliaries to the
 ‘ queen of Hungary. But it was too apparent,
 ‘ that the enemies of the house of Austria had omit-
 ‘ ted nothing, in order to induce other powers to
 ‘ act in conformity to their views, and to their
 ‘ wicked intentions ¹¹⁸.’ His Britannick majesty,
 however, expressed his hopes, that the king of
 Prussia would at length be induced to comply with
 the terms of the treaties, which subsisted between
 him and Great Britain: but Frederick had other
 designs, and intended to employ his troops in a
 very different manner.

No accommodation had as yet taken place be-
 tween the emperor and the queen of Hungary, nor
 had the former been restored to his electoral do-
 minions, but continued to reside at Franckfort, in

¹¹⁸ Letters of lord Hyndford to king George II. *ut supra*.

a very

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a very indigent and distressed condition. The principal reason assigned by the court of Vienna, for not coming to terms with the emperor, was, that his imperial majesty's councils were under the influence of the court of France, that his troops, as elector of Bavaria, were employed in promoting the views of that court, and in advancing the ambitious designs that it had formed, of extending the French dominions; at the expence of the princes of Germany. However, on the 27th of May, 1744, a treaty was concluded at Franckfort, between the emperor, the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden, as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Elector Palatine; by which they engaged to preserve the constitutions of the empire, according to the treaty of Westphalia, and to support the emperor in his rank and dignity. They agreed to employ their good offices with the queen of Hungary, that she might be induced to acknowledge the emperor, to restore his hereditary dominions, and to give up the archives of the empire that were in her possession. They guarantied to each other their respective territories; and the disputes about the succession of the late emperor, they referred to the decision of the states of the empire. They promised to assist one another in case of being attacked; and they invited the king of Poland, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Liege, to accede to this treaty. A separate agreement was also made between the king of Prussia and the em-

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peror, by which the former engaged to put his imperial majesty in possession of Bohemia, and to guaranty to him Upper Austria, as soon as conquered, on condition that he should give up to his Prussian majesty the town and circle of Königsgratz, in its whole extent, with all the country situated between the frontiers of Silesia and the river Elbe, and from the town and circle of Königsgratz to the confines of Saxony¹¹⁹. Frederick also entered into a treaty with the court of France, and agreed to act in concert with the French army; but he was not to take up arms, till he saw France act with vigour against Austria. Another treaty was likewise concluded at Worms, between the king of Great Britain, the queen of Hungary, the elector of Saxony, the king of Sardinia, and the republic of Holland.

On the 10th of August, this year, the king of Prussia published a manifesto at Berlin, in which he declared, that ‘ He thought himself obliged to ‘ inform all Europe, of the resolution which the ‘ present conjuncture obliged him to take, for the ‘ public welfare and *tranquility*. His majesty, not ‘ being able to look any longer with indifference ‘ upon the troubles which desolated Germany, after ‘ having tried, in vain, all ways of bringing about ‘ a reconciliation, found himself obliged to make ‘ use of the forces, which God had given him, towards re-establishing *peace and order*, and for re-

¹¹⁹ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 108.

• storing

‘ storing the laws to their vigour, and the head of
 ‘ the empire to his authority.’

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It was also observed, in the same manifesto, that ‘ since the success of the Hungarian troops
 ‘ in Bavaria, the queen of Hungary, far from proceeding with the equity and moderation which
 ‘ became her, had treated the emperor’s hereditary
 ‘ countries with inexpressible hardships and cruelty.
 ‘ This princess, and her allies, had formed designs
 ‘ unmeasurably ambitious, the pernicious end of
 ‘ which was, to put fetters for ever upon the *German liberty*; to effect which had been, for above
 ‘ an age past, the principal object of the dangerous
 ‘ policy of the House of Austria. Nothing was
 ‘ necessary but to examine the facts, which had
 ‘ passed within the two last years, in order to judge
 ‘ of the malignity of the intentions of the court of
 ‘ Vienna, and to see clearly, that, in all her proceedings, she had acted in a manner entirely
 ‘ contrary to the laws and constitutions of the empire.—The king had no particular dispute with
 ‘ the queen of Hungary. He had no pretension
 ‘ upon her: he *desired nothing for himself*; and entered no otherwise than in quality of an *auxiliary*,
 ‘ into a quarrel which concerned the liberties of
 ‘ the empire only; and the open war, which the
 ‘ queen of Hungary had lately declared against
 ‘ Germany, by the hostilities which her troops had
 ‘ committed there, was a sufficient reason, if there

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It was farther added, that 'If the king thought
 'himself at present obliged, for these reasons, to
 'take violent measures, it was not without regret,
 'nor without having first tried every method of re-
 'conciliation. He made some steps towards ob-
 'taining it with the king of England, when that
 'prince was encamped at Hanau. The emperor
 'too declared, at the same time, that for the sake
 'of peace he would for ever renounce all the pre-
 'tensions which he had upon the house of Austria,
 'upon condition of the restitution of his hereditary
 'dominions. These advantageous, and most mo-
 'derate terms, were flatly rejected by the English
 'ministry; an evident proof, that the intention of
 'the king of England was not to restore peace to
 'the empire, but rather *to make his own advantage*
 '*of its troubles.* The king did afterwards offer his
 'mediation, jointly with that of the empire, to
 'the maritime powers, in order to put an end to
 'this fatal war: but the republic of Holland, being
 'sensible of the obstacles which she should meet
 'with from the stiffness of the courts of Vienna
 'and London, declined it in a pretty categorical
 'manner.'—His majesty thought, that the most
 'noble and the most worthy use, which he could
 'make of the forces which God had entrusted him
 'with, was, to employ them in the support of his
 'country, which the queen of Hungary would
 'enslave;

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‘ enslave; to vindicate the honour and the rights
‘ of all the electors, which that princess would
‘ forcibly deprive them of; to afford a powerful
‘ assistance to the emperor, in order to support him
‘ in all his rights, and upon that throne, from which
‘ the queen of Hungary would pull him down. In
‘ a word, the king demanded nothing: the ques-
‘ tion was not about his personal interest; but his
‘ majesty had recourse to arms, for no other reason
‘ than that of restoring liberty to the empire, dig-
‘ nity to the emperor, and tranquility to Europe ¹¹⁰.’

ABOUT the same time, Frederick also sent re-
scripts to all the courts of Europe; and it was ob-
servable, that in the rescript which was transmit-
ted to London, he seemed to address himself not
so much to the king of England, as to the peo-
ple of England. It contained the following pas-
sages: ‘ Ever since my differences with the court
‘ of Vienna were determined by the treaty of
‘ Breslaw, the chief object of my attention has con-
‘ stantly been, not only carefully to cultivate, and,
‘ by all imaginable regards, to strengthen the good
‘ understanding which I had just renewed with her
‘ majesty the queen of Hungary, but also to re-
‘ vive the same between her and his imperial ma-
‘ jesty; and, by a just and durable peace, to put
‘ a stop to the troubles, which their disputes con-
‘ cerning the succession of the late emperor Charles
‘ VI. had occasioned; and of which the best pro-

¹¹⁰ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 70—76.

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vincés of the contending parties, as well as several states of the empire that were neuter, had but too severely felt the dismal consequences. I cannot but commend the readiness which I met with in this respect from his imperial majesty. This prince, a true father of his country, rather than see it suffer for his interest's sake, had already taken the generous resolution to sacrifice all his pretensions to the restoration of the public tranquillity. But the court of Vienna shewed quite opposite dispositions; it listened, with reluctance, to all proposals towards an accommodation; and, from all its conduct, made it very plain, that it would accept of no other peace, but what would still render it the arbiter of all Germany, and subject to it the rights and liberties of the Germanic body. Its vast and dangerous designs were displayed, by degrees, as the prosperity of its arms encreased, and seemed to make it sure of success; from that time it acted without any circumspection; it insulted, in the most outrageous manner, both the majesty of the supreme head of the empire, and the rights and prerogatives of the electoral college. It was in vain I warned that court, that neither I, nor any other prince of the empire, that had the preservation of his country's constitution at heart, would ever suffer the head of it to be attacked in this manner; and that I could not, at least, dispense with fulfilling the previous obligations I was laid

‘under, by the rank I held among the members
 ‘of the Germanic body, and to which any other
 ‘obligation and consideration must needs yield. It
 ‘was too much intoxicated with its vast designs,
 ‘to give the least attention to my amicable remon-
 ‘strances.’

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‘Neither passion, nor any personal interest, nor
 ‘any view of enlarging my dominions, or of mak-
 ‘ing conquests, have the least share in the resolu-
 ‘tions I have taken; my only intention being to
 ‘discharge the duty of a good patriot, and a faith-
 ‘ful member of the Germanic body; to maintain
 ‘the dignity, and prevent the total ruin of its
 ‘chief; to shelter the constitution, and liberty of
 ‘the empire, against the impending danger that
 ‘threatens it; and to restore and ensure its tran-
 ‘quility, by a just and durable peace, the solidity
 ‘and durableness of which may give a new strength
 ‘to the staggering liberties of Germany. And I
 ‘hope that no judicious Englishman, nor any Bri-
 ‘ton that is zealous for his country, can possibly
 ‘mistake the equity of my resolution, as he may
 ‘sufficiently convince himself of it, by barely trans-
 ‘porting on the theatre of England what now passes
 ‘on that of Germany. As every true English pa-
 ‘triot would look with indignation on all such in-
 ‘trigues as should be carried on in his own coun-
 ‘try, towards making the now regnant family to
 ‘descend from the throne, in order to establish the
 ‘pretender there, and would oppose all such prac-

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' tices with all his power ; much more, there is no
 ' patriot, or powerful prince of the empire, that
 ' can sit with indifference, and coolly suffer another
 ' member of the empire, such as is the queen of
 ' Hungary, to endeavour to spoil of his dignity
 ' and authority the emperor lawfully elected, in
 ' order to invest with that rank a candidate, def-
 ' titute of the qualifications that are most essential
 ' to fill the imperial throne, and who can never as-
 ' cend it, but by the total subversion of the impe-
 ' rial constitution, and of all the liberties, preroga-
 ' tives, and privileges of its chief members. As
 ' in consequence of the same principle, no German
 ' prince has any right to meddle with the inward
 ' policy of Great Britain, nor with the constitution
 ' of its government, I have some reason to hope,
 ' that the English nation will neither meddle with
 ' the domestic affairs of the empire, nor oppose
 ' the efforts which I, as well as the other states well
 ' disposed for the empire, are resolved to make to-
 ' wards preserving and maintaining the dignity of
 ' the head, the reverence due to the laws and con-
 ' stitution of our country, and the rights and pre-
 ' rogatives of its members. And that I entertain
 ' these hopes the more, because England has no
 ' reason to meddle with this quarrel, from any con-
 ' sideration of its commerce, or otherwise ; and that,
 ' although it had a greater inclination for one Ger-
 ' man court than for another, I think it too unrea-
 ' sonable to pretend, that such powerful and respec-
 ' table

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table princes, as those of the empire are, should
be obliged to regulate their conduct, agreeably
to the inclinations of those among the English,
who strive to make their countrymen enter into
foreign quarrels, that are of no manner of con-
cern to England. The resolution that I have
taken, has nothing in common with the war that
England is now engaged in with other powers,
which I shall not meddle with to its prejudice.
Nor will my present undertaking make any altera-
tion in the engagements that I have contracted with
England; which I am steadfastly resolved to fulfil,
with all imaginable punctuality, so long as Eng-
land will not herself cut the ties thereof: and I
shall pay, to the very last farthing, the debts of
Silesia, which I have taken upon me by the treaty
of Breslaw ¹²¹.

NOTWITHSTANDING the plausible declarations
made by the king of Prussia, in his public memo-
rials, it is sufficiently manifest, that concern for the
emperor, or zeal for the preservation of the Ger-
manic constitution, were not the real motives of
his taking up arms. But he seems to have been
somewhat jealous of the progress of the Austrian
arms, under prince Charles of Lorraine, who had
not only driven the French out of Bavaria, but
had passed the Rhine, and penetrated into the French
dominions, making himself master of Hagenau
and Saverne, and laying all the country of Lower

¹²¹ Memoirs of Frederick III. ut supra, p. 64—70.

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Alsace under contribution. As the Austrian army were, however, employed at such a distance, this seemed a favourable time for the invasion of Bohemia; and Frederick also probably thought, that, at the present crisis, some opportunity might arise of enlarging his dominions, or at least of extending his military fame. On the part of the court of Vienna, several memorials, declarations, and rescripts, were likewise published; but the king of Prussia's manifestoes were drawn up with such superior art and dexterity, that, as public papers, they had much more effect than those of the queen of Hungary.

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Frederick puts himself at the head of his troops, and marches into Bohemia.—The extraordinary proclamation published by him in that country.—Makes himself master of the city of Prague, and of some other towns and fortresses.—A stop put to the progress of his arms by prince Charles of Lorrain.—Frederick is obliged to abandon Prague, and his other conquests, and to retreat precipitately into Silesia, and from thence to Berlin, with great loss.—Death of the emperor.—The king of Prussia returns again to Silesia, at the head of seventy thousand men.—Battle of Hohen Friedberg, in which Frederick gains a compleat victory over prince Charles of Lorrain.

THE manifestoes and rescripts of the king of Prussia were followed, according to his usual custom, with a very rapid movement of his troops, at the head of eighty thousand of which, before the close of the month of August, he passed through the electorate of Saxony, and entered the kingdom of Bohemia. In that country he issued a proclamation, of which it is impossible for an impartial historian to speak in any other terms, than those of censure and of indignation. In this piece it was declared, that the emperor ‘being dispossessed of his dominions, and deprived of all authority, the
king

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king of Prussia could no longer defer doing what his imperial majesty desired, and what became him to do, in virtue of his obligations to the emperor and empire, as one of its principal states and electors. In consequence of this, and from views equally upright, and worthy of his love to his country, his Prussian majesty had granted a part of his forces to the head of the empire, under the title of *auxiliaries*, with a view, as well to restore the authority and dignity of the imperial office, absolutely oppressed for the present, as to re-establish peace and general tranquillity throughout all Germany, our dear country.' The inhabitants of Bohemia are afterwards exhorted 'not to make any resistance, or to oppose the least obstacle against the said auxiliary troops, or their undertakings; but to remain quiet, and at peace, in their respective dwellings. In which case, they might promise to themselves protection and security; and be assured, that they should not only be safe from any soldiers entering into, or disturbing them in their estates, but also, that the said auxiliary troops should observe the strictest and most rigorous discipline; and that whatever they furnished them with, towards their subsistence, or the supply of their necessities, in any respect, should fairly be deducted out of the CONTRIBUTIONS they ought to pay, or OTHERWISE ACCOUNTED FOR to the states and subjects of Bohemia. But if, on the other hand, any of the said vassals, inha-

'inhabitants or subjects of the kingdom of Bohe-
 'mia, should be so ill advised, as to commit any
 'acts of hostility against the said imperial auxiliary
 'troops, in any manner, or on any pretext what-
 'soever, fire and sword would be employed, with-
 'out the least pity, in punishing the guilty. And
 'to take away, before hand, all occasion for the
 'committing such hostilities, it was by these letters
 'patent strictly enjoined, to all and every one of
 'the peasants and inhabitants of the country of Bo-
 'hemia, that whatever arms they should have in
 'their possession, whether their own, or not, they
 'should, without any exception, and without the
 'least delay, carry them to the lords from whom
 'they held their lands, or to the magistrates nearest
 'the place of their abode; so that the said lord or
 'magistrate might, as it was expected he should,
 'become security for their good behaviour. And,
 'in conformity to this proclamation, if, after the
 'publication of it, any inhabitant of the country,
 'or peasant, should be found with arms, either
 'upon him, or in his custody, he should be hanged
 'without farther inquiry, and without remission;
 'and the most rigorous proceedings should be had
 'against the lord, or magistrate of the place, in
 'order to punish any negligence, or connivance in
 'them; or, if the circumstances of the case de-
 'served it, the whole village should be pillaged,
 'and reduced to ashes ¹²².' This arbitrary and ini-

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¹²² Gentleman's Mag. vol. XIV. p. 499.

quitious

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quitous proclamation, which appeared to be dictated only by a spirit of military tyranny; and by which every Bohemian peasant who should keep arms in his own house, for the defence of himself, his family, or his country, was sentenced by a foreign prince to be hanged, was dated at Peterwald, the 25th of August, 1744.

ON the second of September following, Frederick arrived before Prague; and, though his artillery was not come, attacked and took some advanced posts. On the 7th of the month, general count de Hacke, who commanded the Prussian artillery, was unexpectedly attacked by a detachment of Austrians, who beat the convoy, and were carrying off the artillery. At this critical period, the king of Prussia himself came up with the third part of his army, when the Austrians were compelled to relinquish their important capture. Frederick then cut off all communication between the town and the army under count Bathiani; and, after a sharp engagement, made himself master of some redoubts and bastions, which had been erected in the last siege of Prague by the French. The Prussian bombs having destroyed almost the old and new towns, together with the Jews town, the commandant, at the intreaty of the nobility and clergy, and from want of artillery, was obliged to surrender the city to the king of Prussia, on the 16th of the month; and the whole garrison, consisting of 14,500 men, were made prisoners of war. Prince

Fre-

Frederick William, cousin german to the king, was killed by his side. The Prussian monarch himself commanded at one of the four attacks, which he directed to be made all at once; and, to reward a grenadier, who first mounted a bastion at marechal Schwerin's attack, and defended himself with his sword only till his companions came up, he ordered him to be placed at the marechal's table in his grenadier's habit, and ennobled him by patent. He also promoted him to the rank of a lieutenant, together with twelve other private men, who had distinguished themselves on the occasion ¹²³.

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FREDERICK left a garrison of six thousand men in Prague, with a large train of artillery; and the Prussian soldiers are said to have been ordered to lie in the streets, before the houses of the burghers, who were forbidden, on pain of death, to stir out at night ¹²⁴. The king then marched southward up the Moldaw to Tabor, from whence he sent out detachments under lieutenant-general Nassau, who, after some skirmishes, took the towns of Budweis and Teyn, together with the strong castle of Frauenburg, the garrison of which were made prisoners of war. A large body of Prussian troops was also sent into Moravia, where they are represented as having been guilty of great barbarities ¹²⁵.

¹²³ Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 77, 78. Johnson's Memoirs of the King of Prussia, p. 133, 134. Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 500, 501.

¹²⁴ Gent. Mag. and Johnson, ut supra.

¹²⁵ Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 621.

BUT

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BUT a stop was soon put to the progress of the Prussian arms, by the courage, conduct; and activity, of prince CHARLES of LORRAIN. That able general, on receiving information of the invasion of Bohemia, by the king of Prussia, repassed the Rhine in the face of the French army, which was commanded by the mareschals de Coigni, Noailles, and Belleisle [x]. He then marched to the Danube, laid the Upper Palatinate under contribution, and entering Bohemia, joined the Austrian troops under count Bathiani at Merotitz. It was also a circumstance very disadvantageous to the king of Prussia, that the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, now declared himself an auxiliary to the queen of Hungary. The Polish monarch had for some time past considered his electoral dominions as very insecure, near so enterprizing and ambitious a neighbour as the king of Prussia; and he had entered into a convention for the mutual

[x] The king of Prussia was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of the French on this occasion. Accordingly we are told by one writer, that Frederick 'complained grievously, of 'an enemy being suffered to escape to come upon him. In fact, 'prince Charles seemed to have wings; and though he did not 'arrive time enough to prevent that monarch from taking Prague; 'on the 15th of September, yet he contrived, by his movements 'and marches, to oblige him to withdraw his garrison, on the '27th of November. The king of Prussia was, therefore, only 'master of this capital for two months; the French had kept it 'thirteen; and prince Charles was twice its deliverer.' Private Life of Lewis XV. vol. II. p. 205.

guarantee

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guarantee of Saxony, Bohemia, and Austria, with her Hungarian majesty. He was also greatly and justly exasperated at the liberty which Frederick had taken, of marching his troops through his electoral dominions without his permission. He represented by his minister, that the march of the Prussian troops through Saxony, taken by force, was against the constitution of the empire; and that as the same troops might have taken a quite different route, through his Prussian majesty's own dominions, their forcible march through Saxony might properly be considered as a violation of territory, and an act of hostility. And he now reinforced the army of prince Charles of Lorraine with twenty thousand Saxon troops, as auxiliaries, under the command of the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, on whom the king of Great Britain soon after conferred the order of the garter.

By the addition of these auxiliaries, and of the troops under Bathiani, the army of prince Charles became superior to that of the king of Prussia. Frederick was, therefore, obliged to abandon Prague, and the other places of which he had taken possession in Bohemia, and to retreat with precipitation into Silesia. In his retreat he is stated to have lost above thirty thousand men, together with most of his heavy baggage and artillery, and many waggons laden with provisions and plunder¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁶ Hist. of Modern Europe, vol. V. p. 111.

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Frederick at length returned to Berlin, extremely mortified with the termination of the campaign; of which he is said to have forbidden all persons in that city to speak either ill or well¹²⁷. In his "Military Instructions for the Generals of his army," he says, 'I do not mean to justify those generals who have made flagrant mistakes; I will not vindicate my own campaign in 1744; yet, among many faults, the siege of Prague, my retreat and defence of Kolin, and also my retreat into Silesia, were tolerably conducted. But there are many unfortunate events, which no human skill or foresight can possibly prevent¹²⁸.'

Soon after the return of the king of Prussia to his capital, Charles VII. emperor of Germany, died at Munich, on the 20th of January, 1745, in the forty-eighth year of his age [v]. This event made

¹²⁷ Johnson's Memoirs, ut supra, p. 136. Gent. Mag. vol. XIV. p. 678.

¹²⁸ King of Prussia's Military Instructions for his Generals, p. 152.

[v] Voltaire says, that the Emperor left 'this lesson to the world, that the summit of human grandeur may be the pinnacle of calamity.—A complication of painful disorders rendered his misfortunes more violent by his corporeal sufferings, and they jointly carried him to the grave. He was afflicted with the gout and stone: his liver, lungs, and stomach, were found gangrened; also stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart; so that it was imagined he could not have enjoyed a moment's ease for some time past. Few princes had better qualities. They served only to heighten his unhappiness; and (this

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made a great change in the situation of affairs in the empire. The grand duke of Tuscany, husband to the queen of Hungary, was immediately declared a candidate for the imperial throne: but his pretensions were warmly opposed by the French king and his allies. The court of Vienna, however, taking advantage of the emperor's death, sent an army to invade Bavaria in the month of March, under the conduct of general Bathiani, who defeated the French and Palatine troops at Pfiffenhoven, and drove the Bavarian forces out of the electorate. The young elector, Maximilian Joseph, son to the late emperor, and who was only seventeen years of age, was obliged to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburgh, where he found himself in danger of losing all his dominions. In this emergency, he yielded to the earnest solicitations of the empress his mother, enforced by the advice of his uncle, the elector of Cologne, and of his general, count Seckendorff, who exhorted him

'this unhappiness arose from his having taken upon himself a burthen he was unable to bear. The body of this unfortunate prince was exposed, dressed in the antient Spanish fashion; an etiquette established by Charles V. although since him no emperor has been a Spaniard, nor had Charles V. any connexion with that nation. He was interred according to the ceremonies of the empire; and in this parade of human vanity and misery, they carried the globe of the world in procession before him, who, during the short course of his reign, could not keep possession even of one small unfortunate province.'

Age of Lewis XV. ch. 14.

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to be reconciled to the court of Vienna. A negotiation was immediately entered into at Fuesien, and speedily concluded. The queen of Hungary consented to recognize the imperial dignity, as having been vested in the person of his father; to acknowledge his mother as empress-dowager; and to restore his dominions, with all the fortresses, artillery, stores, and ammunition, which she had taken. On the other hand, he renounced all claim to the succession of her father, became guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, and engaged to give his vote for the grand duke, at the ensuing election of a king of the Romans, and to dismiss the auxiliary troops in his service ¹²⁹.

IN the mean time, the king of Prussia did not long remain inactive at Berlin. His troops, at the beginning of the year, under the command of different generals, had obtained some considerable advantages over the Austrians. In February, general Lehwald had defeated a body of twelve thousand Austrians, commanded by general Helfrich; and the same month the town of Ratibor, in Silesia, in which the Austrians had posted three thousand men, was taken by assault. The Prussians also, under the prince of Anhalt Dessau, obliged the Hungarians to abandon Trappau, Jagersdorf, and other places which they had taken, and to retire into Moravia. Frederick himself entered Silesia in May, at the head of seventy thousand men; and

¹²⁹ Smollet, ut supra, p. 134, 135.

received information, that prince Charles of Lorraine, and the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, were also about to enter Silesia, at the head of eighty thousand, among whom was a body of Saxon auxiliaries. He now, therefore, made no detachments from his army, but abandoned Upper Silesia to be pillaged by the Hungarians, that he might be able the more effectually to oppose the designs of prince Charles. It was the intention of that general to penetrate into Silesia through the narrow passes of the mountains near Landshut; and the design of Frederick was, to let the Austrians file through the passes of those mountains without disturbance, and then to attack them unexpectedly, and force them to a decisive action. But, in order to deceive prince Charles, and to lead him to suppose that he was unwilling to engage, he caused the road to be repaired, as if he had intended to march in four columns towards Breslaw, upon the approach of the Austrians ¹³⁰. With the same view, he also abandoned all the posts and intrenchments of which he was possessed, in the mountains that separate Silesia from Bohemia. Prince Charles being thus deceived, and imagining that he might enter Silesia without molestation, prepared to march through the defiles into the plains near Striegau. But on the first of June, the king of Prussia moved his camp from the neighbourhood of Reichenback,

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¹³⁰ Military Instructions of the King of Prussia for his Generals, p. 61.

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and pitched it between Striegau and Schweidnitz, having his left covered by that village, and his right by the village of Jauernick, where he established his head quarters. The van guard, consisting of seven battalions of grenadiers, ten squadrons of dragoons, and two thousand hussars, under the command of lieutenant-general du Moulin, and the major-generals Stille and Winterfeld, encamped near Striegau, in a line along the highway, with their left wing extended towards the village of Stanowitz. Lieutenant-general Nassau, with five battalions, ten squadrons of Bareith dragoons, and the regiment of Ziethen hussars, took post between the army and the van guard, at the village of Zedlitz, occupying at the same time a wood, in order to keep the Austrian light troops from approaching the Prussian camps, either to interrupt their communication with one another, or to observe their motions. The front of the two Prussian camps, that is, of the van guard and of the main army, was for the most part covered with eminences, on which their advanced guards were posted: which procured them the double advantage, of not being overlooked by the enemy, and at the same time of seeing as far as the feet of the mountains, and even through their openings, the smallest motion that could be made by the Austrians. As the eminence in the front of the van guard was the highest, and the most proper for making observations, the king repaired to it two or three times a

day.

day, that he might view, with his own eyes, what ever happened ¹¹¹.

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ON the second of the month, several separate bodies of the Austrians were seen marching along the ridge of the mountains, on the side next HOHEN FRIEDBERG; and towards evening, a body of between six and seven thousand men encamped near the castle of Furstenstein, the rest towards Quolldorf, and behind Hohen Friedberg, but so concealed among the mountains, that the Prussians could only perceive part of the Austrian tents through the openings. The next morning, they appeared to be in the same position; but Frederick going, as usual, to examine every thing himself, observed that the Austrian soldiers were then employed in cooking, and from their being engaged in that manner so early [z], he suspected that they would descend from the mountains that day. He ordered his troops, therefore, to be extremely vigilant, and to acquaint him with the smallest movement made by the Austrians; and every thing was prepared for vigorously attacking them when they should come down into the plains.

¹¹¹ King of Prussia's campaigns, ut supra, p. 125, 126.

[z] In his MILITARY INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS GENERALS, Frederick says, 'When the Austrians are encamped, it is not difficult to discover their design to march; for it is their general custom to *cook their kettles* on that day particularly. If, therefore, you perceive, at five or eight o'clock in the morning, more smoke than ordinary in their camp, you may be pretty certain they intend to move.' P. 72.

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IT soon appeared, that Frederick was right in his conjectures respecting the intentions of the Austrians. In the afternoon they were seen advancing, in large columns of horse and foot, into the plains of Friedberg and Ronstock. The king, therefore, ordered the main body of his troops to march at eight in the evening to Striegau, and commanded general du Moulin to take post, with his ten squadrons and seven battalions, upon the adjacent hills. These orders were punctually executed; and the Prussian troops arrived at midnight at the posts assigned, without noise, and without lights ¹¹².

AT TWO the next morning, which was the fourth of June, 1745, the king assembled all the general officers, and settled the arrangements for the battle. In less than an hour after, the first division of the Austrian army, which consisted partly of Saxon troops, commanded by the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, began to come out of the defiles into the plains, near HOHEN FRIEDBERG, and had scarcely advanced fifty paces, when they saw the whole Prussian army drawn up in battle array, and advantageously posted with all its artillery. The action was commenced by prince Leopold, of Anhalt Dessau, who attacked first the Saxon infantry in a marshy wood, with great bravery. The Saxons made vigorous efforts in their own defence, but were not able to form,

¹¹² Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 81. Gent. Mag. vol. XV. 297, 298.

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much less to extend themselves, or to break in upon the Prussians, on account of the extreme inconvenience of the ground they fought upon, where they were exposed on every side to the fire of the Prussian cannon ¹³³. The duke of Saxe-Weissenfels charged himself, several times, at the head of the Austrian cavalry, but was not able to make any impression upon the Prussians. The Saxons then formed a triangle of infantry, in order to make a good retreat; but lieutenant-general Rotenburg, at the head of the prince of Prussia's regiment of cuirassiers, cut in pieces the regiment of Schonberg. Lieutenant-colonel Juschinski, and major Frideville, also put two troops of Saxon grenadiers to the sword. The triangle was then broken, and the Saxons totally defeated ¹³⁴. The behaviour of the Prussian troops on this occasion was extremely sanguinary, they fought with great inveteracy, and gave hardly any quarter to the Saxons.

WHEN the main body of the Austrians had issued from the defiles, and formed themselves in the plains in the best manner they were able, they were attacked with great vigour by the king and the margrave Charles. The Prussian infantry repeatedly attacked with their bayonets screwed, and the cavalry often threw themselves upon the adverse

¹³³ London Magazine, for the year 1745, p. 311.

¹³⁴ Memoirs of Frederick III. p. 82, 83. Gent. Mag. ut supra, from the account published at Berlin, by authority.

battalions,

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battalions, though the Austrians made a prodigious fire. Ten squadrons of Bareith dragoons broke through seven regiments of infantry belonging to Thungen's Austrian brigade, totally routed them, and took more than two thousand prisoners, with sixty-six pair of colours, and all their cannon¹³⁵. M. Thungen, commandant of the brigade, was killed in the action. The fire of the Prussian infantry never ceased a moment, till nine o'clock in the morning, when the action had continued near seven hours, and when the whole combined army of Austrians and Saxons was entirely defeated, and obliged to retreat through the passes of the mountains from which they had issued. Their retreat, however, was conducted in an able and skilful manner by prince Charles and the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels; though the victory obtained by the Prussian monarch was great and indisputable.

THE Austrians and Saxons left more than four thousand men killed and wounded upon the field of battle, and upwards of five thousand were made prisoners. Among the killed was prince Christian William of Saxe Gotha, who was a major-general, and whose body was afterwards interred in the Lutheran church at Striegau. Several other general officers were among the killed and wounded; and of the prisoners more than one hundred and fifty were officers. The trophies taken were seven stand-

¹³⁵ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 134.

ards, seventy-six pair of colours, and eight pair of kettle-drums; together with sixty-six pieces of cannon, and forty ammunition waggons. The loss of the Prussians amounted to sixteen hundred killed and wounded; and among the former was lieutenant-general count Troughses, who was killed by a cannon ball at the beginning of the engagement, and for whose death the king expressed great concern [A].

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[A] Of this general, who seems to have been one of Frederick's favourites before his accession, some particulars are related by Bielfeld. He says of him, 'This gentleman is tall, and well made, and commands our esteem by his birth, his figure, his noble air, and by the charms of a most agreeable conversation.'—'There is something in the conversation of count TROUCHSES, which appears to me so sprightly, that it too frequently makes that of others seem dull. It is judiciously seasoned with a proper quantity of Attic salt, and always accompanied with the court air.' The count had erected at Berlin a house of a very singular construction, which Bielfeld describes, but which had cost the count so much money, as in some degree to embarrass his circumstances,

On the accession of Frederick III. count Troughses was sent as his ambassador to George II, king of Great Britain, and Bielfeld accompanied him as secretary of legation. As his Britannick majesty was then at Hanover, count Troughses repaired to him at the court of Herrenhausen. The king and that court, as well as the ambassador and his train, were then in mourning for Frederick William. Of their reception the following account is given by Bielfeld: 'We were conducted into an anti-chamber, where we found the whole court assembled, and in a mourning almost as deep as our own. Count Troughses wore a peruke of an immense size, and a cloak that trailed
some

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THE conduct of the king of Prussia, as a general, both before, and on the day of this memorable action, was entitled to the highest commendation. The situation of affairs, with regard to his own forces, as well as to those of the enemy, required some decisive action. In order to bring matters to this issue, he had very artfully and completely deceived prince Charles with respect to his real intentions. He had pretended to be afraid of the superiority of the combined army of Austrians

‘ some yards behind him, which gave to his figure, of six feet
‘ high, a very singular appearance. In about a quarter of an
‘ hour, lord Harrington came to introduce us to the audience.
‘ The doors of the hall were thrown open, and the king of
‘ Great Britain appeared in all his glory. He was dressed in
‘ purple, and adorned with his grand order of the garter. Count
‘ Troughes presented his credentials with a good deal of grace;
‘ and with an air of dignity; but he had not time to make a
‘ long harangue; for the king interrupted and answered him
‘ with the greatest goodness; and afterwards talked to him with
‘ an air of cordiality, that delighted every one who beheld him.
‘ His majesty could not sufficiently admire his grave and solemn
‘ appearance, and said to him in a low voice, with a smile,
‘ Count Troughes, one would imagine by your appearance,
‘ that you were in despair for the loss of your late master.”
‘ We were all of us afterwards presented to his majesty, who
‘ said to each of us something gracious and condescending.
Count Troughes afterwards returned to Berlin; but, at the beginning of the year 1741, went to London as ambassador from the Prussian monarch to his Britannick majesty, and was again accompanied by M. Bielfeld. About the middle of that year, the count was recalled from his embassy, to join the army in Silesia.

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and Saxons ; and had caused a report to be spread, that he should not wait for it in the neighbourhood of Schweidnitz, but should take a sure post between Breslaw and Glogau on the river Oder, for the convenience of his convoys. In conformity to these affected appearances, he had caused the mountains of Upper Silesia and the country of Glatz to be evacuated, assembled all his different corps, and kept himself closely covered in his camp between Schweidnitz and Striegau, using all imaginable precautions to conceal from the enemy his real designs, and the number of his troops ; being fully persuaded, that if prince Charles would but come down into the plains, it would be in his power to force him to a battle. The event proved the wisdom of Frederick's measures ; in the battle he displayed the highest military skill, and equal bravery ; and having now driven his enemies out of Silesia, he entered the kingdom of Bohemia.

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CHAP. IX.

The king of Prussia encamps his army in Bohemia.—Negociations entered into by him, and representations made by his ministers at foreign courts.—The grand duke of Tuscany elected emperor, and crowned at Franckfort.—Battle of Sobr.—Frederick returns to Berlin.—Sets out again from that city, and puts himself at the head of his troops in Silesia.—Action at Hennersdorff.—The king makes himself master of Gorlitz.—The Austrians retreat before him into Bohemia.—The city of Leipsic surrenders to the prince of Anhalt Dessau.—Other towns in Saxony taken possession of by that prince.—He defeats the Saxons and Austrians at Kesseldorff.—The city of Dresden surrenders to the king of Prussia.—Peace concluded in that capital.—Frederick returns in triumph to Berlin.

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THOUGH the Austrians and Saxons, under prince Charles of Lorrain and the duke of Saxe-Weissenfels, had been completely defeated at the battle of Hohen Friedberg, yet after they had returned into Bohemia, when the Austrians had re-assembled their scattered troops, and obtained some reinforcements, they were still possessed of a very considerable force. They had also the advantage of having the inhabitants of the country entirely in their favour, and extremely hostile to the Prussians.

fians. Frederick strongly encamped his army within less than a league of the town of Trautenau; and during his stay there nearly exhausted the neighbouring country of forage and provisions¹¹⁰. In the months of July and August, there were many skirmishes between parties of the Austrians and Prussians, but no action of any consequence.

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At the same time that the king of Prussia was exciting the utmost alarm in Germany, by the activity of his arms, his ambassadors were also employed in negociations in the different courts of Europe, and in exhibiting complaints against the powers with whom he was in a state of hostility. Before the battle of Hohen Friedberg, and the junction of the Saxons with the Austrians, he had caused his minister at the Hague, count Podewills, to make a declaration, That the king his master having been informed, that the Saxons were going to join the Austrians, in order to invade Silesia in concert, his majesty had directed his minister at Dresden to represent to count Bestuchef, envoy from Russia, that in case the Saxon troops, ceasing to be auxiliaries of the queen of Hungary, should commit direct hostilities against his Prussian majesty, he could look upon that step in no other light, than that of an open rupture; and that, on his side, he should commit hostilities against the Saxons, and should moreover demand of Russia the succours stipulated by treaties. This declaration being com-

¹¹⁰ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 146.

municated

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municated to the king of Poland by the Russian minister, his Polish majesty answered, that he had assisted the queen of Hungary no otherwise, than he was obliged to do by former treaties; that he should continue to assist her in the same manner; and that, therefore, he looked upon this as a declaration of war, and should send, on his part, to demand of Russia the succours stipulated by treaties ¹¹⁷. On the 8th of January, 1745, a treaty of quadruple alliance had been concluded at Warsaw, between his Britannick majesty, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, the queen of Hungary, and the States-general; by which they guarantied to each other their several possessions [B]. But in August,

¹¹⁷ London Mag. for the year 1745, p. 207.

[B] By the treaty of Warsaw, the contracting parties engaged to concert the most effectual measures for restoring the peace of Europe, particularly of the empire, and to assist one another in preserving all such dominions as they were respectively possessed of, or to which they had a right. His Polish majesty, as elector of Saxony, confirmed and renewed the guaranty of the pragmatic sanction, and promised to support it with all his forces. If the kingdom of Bohemia should be actually attacked, his Polish majesty was immediately to act with an army of thirty thousand auxiliary troops for its defence. As soon as Bohemia and Saxony should be out of danger, his Polish majesty was to march ten thousand men into the Netherlands, or any other place within the empire, that the king of Great Britain and the States-general should think proper, for which subsidies were to be paid to his Polish majesty, by the king of Great Britain and the States-general. In case the king of Poland should, in consequence

August, the same year, the king of Great Britain, who was extremely anxious for the security of his electoral dominions, signed a convention with the king of Prussia, and became guarantee of his Prussian majesty's possessions, as yielded by the treaty of Breslaw. Frederick afterwards represented to the States-general, by M. Ammon, then his resident at the Hague, that the courts of Vienna and Dresden had employed all sorts of means to raise up enemies against him; that though he had made no attempt upon the electoral dominions of his Polish majesty, as he had a right to do, and might have successfully done, the king of Poland had nevertheless called for succours from the empress of Russia, for the defence of his unattacked dominions, and though he was sure they would not be attacked. It appeared, it was added, that these succours were rather destined to act offensively against the king of Prussia, than for a simple defence; and, therefore, that his Prussian majesty could not dispense with himself from demanding of their high mightinesses those succours which were stipulated by treaty. The Prussian minister said farther, that the king his master expected from their high mightinesses justice and equity, and fidelity in the performance of their engagements; and that they would

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sequence of these measures, draw upon himself a war, he was to be supported therein by his allies; and no peace was to be made without his consent, or without obtaining for him proper satisfaction. *Gent. Mag.* vol. XV. p. 167.

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not delay granting him the succours he required, nor omit representing to the Russian court the obligations they were under to assist the king of Prussia, and the mischiefs and inconveniences that might arise from the empress's assisting the court of Dresden ¹³⁸.

ON the second of September, 1745, the grand duke of Tuscany was elected king of the Romans, and emperor of Germany. The king of Prussia, by his ambassadors, declared the election to be void. The elector palatine, whose countries had been ravaged by the Austrian armies, entered a protest to the same purport. The electoral ambassadors of these two princes retired from Franckfort; but this was not sufficient to invalidate the election, because it was settled by the golden bull, "That if the electors, or their ambassadors, should retire from the place of election, before the king of the Romans, the future emperor, was elected, they should be deprived of their right of suffrage for that time, as being judged to have abandoned it." Before the end of the month, the new emperor was crowned at Franckfort; and Voltaire observes, that the queen of Hungary, now empress, came to that city 'to enjoy her triumph, the coronation of her husband. She saw, from a balcony, the ceremony of the entry, and was the first that cried out, LONG LIVE THE EMPEROR! and all the people answered with acclamations of joy

¹³⁸ London Mag. for the year 1745, p. 553.

‘and affection. This was the happiest day of her
 ‘life. She afterwards went to see her army, ranged
 ‘in order of battle near Heidelberg, to the number
 ‘of sixty thousand men. The emperor, her spouse,
 ‘received her sword in hand, at the head of the
 ‘army. She passed between the lines, saluted every
 ‘body, dined under a tent, and ordered a florin
 ‘to be distributed to every soldier ¹³⁹.’

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IN the same month, in which the coronation of the emperor took place, another battle was fought between the king of Prussia and prince Charles of Lorrain. On the twenty-ninth of September, the Austrian army made a forced march, in order to surprize and attack Frederick, in his camp near the village of SOHR, in the neighbourhood of Trautenau. Prince Charles was the rather induced to make this attempt, because his army was now much superior in number to that of the king of Prussia. Frederick had received some intimation of the prince's design, and was, therefore, about to change the position of his camp. Orders were given for that purpose on the morning of the thirtieth, and the army was to decamp at ten o'clock. The generals of the day, who attended to receive these orders, were but just gone out of the king's tent to make the necessary dispositions, when the advanced guards of the right wing sent notice, that they perceived a large body of cavalry, and some infantry, on the hills of Deutsch Prausnitz. This

¹³⁹ Age of Lewis XV. ch. 17.

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news was soon confirmed; and it was added, that the whole Austrian army was advancing in several columns ¹⁴⁰.

As Frederick now no longer doubted of the approach of the Austrians, he ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to sound to arms. The right wing of the cavalry, and particularly the Prussian gens d'arms, were the first ready to march out of the camp, though the enemy endeavoured to hinder them by their artillery, the shot of which reached the Prussian camp. The Prussian cavalry were, indeed, compelled to make haste, by a furious fire of great guns and haubitzers. When they were on horseback, they marched to the right, and were followed by the infantry, forming a kind of semicircle, the convex side of which was towards the enemy, that they might not expose their flank. Having then taken possession of the ground most proper for the attack, their cavalry formed; and though the ground was narrow and uneven, and the eminence, on which the Austrian army stood, very steep, yet fifteen Prussian squadrons, under the command of the major-generals Goltz and Katzlar, advanced, received the whole fire of the artillery, and rushed in full career upon the squadrons of the enemy, of which there were fifty-five in this wing, drawn up in three lines. Notwithstanding the inferiority in number of the Prussian cavalry, they fell so furiously upon the first line of the Austrian horse,

¹⁴⁰ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 147, 148.

that they overthrew them at the first onset, and pursued them with so much vigour, as to put the second and third line into the same confusion, and at length completely routed them ¹⁴¹.

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AMONG other great exertions of Prussian valour, three battalions of grenadiers had the intrepidity to attack the Austrian park of artillery, though guarded by fifteen companies of grenadiers, supported by the Saxon infantry. The Prussians lost many men in this attack, and were twice repulsed; but being seasonably reinforced by the regiments of La Motte and Blanckensee infantry, they made themselves masters of the Austrian park of artillery at the third attack, and also took their first line in flank. After this the whole Austrian left wing was driven off the eminence, and the front of the two armies insensibly engaged. The center and left wing of the Prussians, of which Frederick had hitherto made no use, that he might be sure of a resource, in case his right wing should be repulsed, advanced gradually through the neighbourhood of Burckersdorff; but found every where an obstinate enemy, resolved to dispute every inch of ground. As the Austrians had the advantage of the ground, and also in the number of men, the Prussians, at every eminence, and every little wood, found fresh troops to encounter, who had not been engaged before, and whose fire was always ready. Notwithstanding

¹⁴¹ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 149, 150.

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these accumulated difficulties, the Prussian soldiers, fighting under the eye of their king, instead of being discouraged, redoubled their efforts. With great gallantry they climbed up the hills, through showers of bullets and cannon balls, cleared one wood after another, and advanced with such rapidity, that they were soon ready to fall upon the battalions of the enemy with their bayonets ¹⁴. But the Austrians now began to give way, and to retreat with precipitation towards the wood of Kænigfreich, and many of them made their escape through the defiles beyond the village of SOHR. The defeat of the Austrians was somewhat facilitated by the behaviour of their irregular troops, who had orders to attack the Prussian army in the rear, but being more solicitous for plunder than for victory, they delayed executing their orders till it was too late. They carried off, however, the king's baggage, including his military chest, together with his secretary, and other servants, and all the papers of his cabinet. Excepting this loss, the victory was compleat; the Austrians were obliged to retreat two leagues from the field of battle; five thousand of them were left killed and wounded, and two thousand taken prisoners; and the Prussians also took many standards, and twenty pieces of cannon. Of the Prussians about six hundred were killed, and two thousand wounded. Among the killed was

¹⁴ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 151.

prince Albert of Brunswick, brother to the queen of Prussia.

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THOUGH this attack of prince Charles of Lorraine upon the camp of the king of Prussia was thus unsuccessful, the scheme of the Austrian general was well concerted, and he had much reason to expect a very different termination of the business. He knew, that Frederick had made large detachments from his army [c], and that he laboured under various disadvantages; and the night before he made his attack, he had approached with great silence the right flank of the Prussian army, formed his army in battle array, and posted his cannon in the most advantageous manner. But on the day of action Frederick displayed all the talents of a great general, and was so well supported by his officers and men, who fought with the utmost intrepidity, that though he was thus suddenly attacked, and taken at a great disadvantage, and though the Austrian army was greatly superior in number to that of his own, he yet obtained a great and a signal victory.

AFTER the battle of SOHR, the king of Prussia continued some time in the neighbourhood of

[c] The king of Prussia afterwards reproached himself for his imprudence, in having at this time made such large detachments from his army. Referring to this, in his *Military Instructions for his Generals*, he says, "I should have been beaten, "and I deserved it, at SOHR, if the abilities of my generals, "and the intrepidity of my troops, had not saved me from that "misfortune." P. 53, 54.

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Trautenau, from whence he removed on the sixteenth of October, and having passed with his army through the defiles of Schatzlar, encamped the same day between that town and Liebau. He staid there only till the nineteenth of the month, when all the army, excepting a large detachment under the command of lieutenant-general du Moulin, struck their tents, and went into quarters of cantonment, the cavalry on the plains of Schweidnitz and Striegau, and the infantry at the foot of the mountains ¹⁴³. Having regulated the winter quarters of the troops, the king set out for Berlin, leaving the command of the army to field-marshal prince Leopold.

WHEN Frederick arrived at Berlin, he was attended by his body-guards, who entered the city in a kind of triumph. They had in their train the cannon which had been taken from the enemy in the last campaign, and the standards and colours that were taken in the battles of Hohen Friedberg and Sohr. These trophies were afterwards conveyed, in solemn procession, to the church erected for the military by Frederick William. M. Bielfeld had, in the course of the year, been appointed preceptor to prince Ferdinand, the king's youngest brother; and on this occasion he stood with the prince in a balcony, over the gate of the palace, in order to see the military procession to the church. M. Borck, one of the king's ministers, stood in

¹⁴³ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 166.

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the same balcony for the same purpose; and, while the procession was passing, clapped Bielsfeld on the shoulder, and said to him in a low voice, "Ah! my dear friend, PEACE were better than all this ¹⁴⁴." The Prussian minister knew, that at that time there was no immediate prospect of a peace; and, perhaps, might be of opinion, that the new acquisitions of the king, and his military renown, and military trophies, were not a sufficient compensation to his old subjects, for the burthens, the dangers, and the calamities of war. Frederick himself, but a short time before, seems to have adopted similar sentiments. For, in his *ANTI-MACHIAVEL*, he observes, that "the new conquests of a sovereign do not render the dominions that he possessed before more opulent nor more prosperous; his former subjects are not benefited by them; and he deceives himself if he imagines, that he shall thereby become more happy ¹⁴⁵."

Soon after Frederick returned to Berlin, he received information from prince Leopold of Anhalt Dessau, that prince Charles of Lorraine was not putting his army into winter quarters, as he had taken some pains to make the Prussians believe, but that a body of ten thousand Austrians, under the command of general count de Grunn, was marching towards Saxony; and that other large detachments from the Austrian army were march-

¹⁴⁴ Bielsfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 230, 231.

¹⁴⁵ Anti-Machiavel, edit. Lond. 1741, p. 12.

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ing in different directions, and in such a manner as to give just ground of alarm to the Prussians. The king also received some farther information respecting the designs of the Austrians, and gave out at Berlin, that he ' had discovered a plan of ' operation, concerted by his enemies, by which ' they intended to attack him in the winter, in five ' different places at the same time; and, if it were ' possible, totally to overthrow him. The most ' considerable of these five armies was to enter the ' king's dominions by the way of Crossen, and to ' cut off his communication with Silesia; the ' second was to enter Upper Silesia; and the third ' into Lower Lusatia; a fourth was to march ' through Leipfic, and to fall upon Halle and ' Magdeburgh; and lastly, the fifth, consisting of ' about twenty thousand men, were to march to ' Berlin, and possess themselves of that capital; ' and by these means they were to give a mortal ' blow to the king's power ¹⁴⁶.

WHETHER any such designs were really formed by the Austrians and Saxons, as were attributed to them by the king of Prussia, may reasonably be questioned; as they seem not to have assembled, in the neighbourhood of the Prussian dominions, any bodies of troops sufficiently numerous for the execution of schemes of such magnitude. It appears also to have been a part of the policy of Frederick,

¹⁴⁶ Lettres familières de M. le Baron de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 198. edit. La Haye, 1763.

to endeavour to interest his subjects the more on his behalf, and make them enter more heartily into his enterprizes, by propagating reports of dangerous schemes pretended to be formed by his enemies against him and his dominions. Perhaps little more might be intended by the Austrians, than to furnish a body of troops to assist in the defence of Saxony, in case it should be attacked by the king of Prussia, which there was much reason to apprehend, from a manifesto which he had some time before published ¹⁴⁷, in which he had declared, that his troops were about to act in a hostile manner against that electorate.

WHEN the Austrian troops began to be in motion, prince Leopold drew the Prussian troops in Silesia out of their cantonments, and stationed them in such a manner as would enable them to watch the progress of the Austrians. The king also directed the reigning prince of Anhalt Dessau, who was with him at Berlin, to set out from that capital, and to assemble a large body of Prussian troops, in the neighbourhood of Halle, in Saxony. Frederick himself also prepared to quit his capital, in order to put himself at the head of his army in Silesia.

THE night before the king left Berlin, he supped with the reigning queen, the queen dowager, the rest of the royal family, count Podewills, and the lady of his high steward. After supper, he took

¹⁴⁷ Gent. Mag. vol. XV. p. 413, 414, 415.

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leave of the queens, and of the princes and princesses; and as he was going out of the hall in which they had supped, he saw count Podewills standing near the door, who offered to kiss his hand, but Frederick embraced him, and said, "Adieu, my dear count, take good care of yourself, and if any misfortune should befall me, remember, that you have lost a sincere friend ¹⁴⁸." He then went to bed for a few hours, and set off early the next morning, which was the 16th of November ¹⁴⁹. Bielfeld, who was present at his departure, says, "Never did I see him more gay, with a more pleasing countenance, and higher spirits, than at that moment. Full of pleasantry, he seated himself in the coach, with his brother, the prince royal, and general Rothenburg; and, attended by our most ardent wishes, set off full gallop ¹⁵⁰."

AFTER the king of Prussia had arrived in Silesia, and taken upon him the command of his army there, he called in some detachments, and assembled his troops near Naumbourg on the Queifs, on the twenty-third of the month. His army then amounted to about thirty-five thousand men. With these he passed the small river Queifs the same day, the cavalry by the fords, the infantry on bridges, and so entered Saxony. While the Prussians were

¹⁴⁸ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. I. p. 236, 237.

¹⁴⁹ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 169.

¹⁵⁰ Letters, ut supra, p. 239.

passing

passing the river, the light troops on their right had a skirmish with a body of Uhlans, who quickly retired; but the hussars of Ziethen and Ruesch, who had passed the river on the left, found in the village of HENNERSDORFF three regiments of Saxon horse, and a regiment of infantry, who were cantoned there without much precaution. The Prussians, therefore, easily put to flight the weak piquets of the Saxons, and entered at one end of the village, taking some prisoners, and much booty. But the love of plunder amused the hussars too long, and gave the Saxons time to form at the other end of the village, which was of considerable length. The Saxons accordingly stood their ground there, and would probably have retired in good order, and with little loss, if Frederick himself had not instantly detached ten squadrons of cuirassiers, and two battalions of grenadiers, to support the hussars¹⁵¹. A smart action then took place, in which the Saxons were totally defeated, great numbers of them killed, and near a thousand taken prisoners, among whom was a major-general, and twenty-seven other officers. The Prussians also took some cannon, standards, colours, kettle-drums, and a large quantity of ammunition; and in the evening encamped near HENNERSDORFF.

THE following day the Prussian army marched, through a thick fog, to Trotschendorf and Lichtenberg. They found, upon the road, a great

¹⁵¹ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 170.

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number of covered waggons, belonging to the Austrians and Saxons, broken to pieces, and the ammunition scattered on the ground. The Prussians were also informed by the country people, that the army of the enemy was re-assembled at GORLITZ, with a design to give them battle there. The vanguard of the Prussian army, consisting of all the hussars, and some battalions of grenadiers, advanced to that place on the night of the twenty-fourth, and was followed on the twenty-fifth by the cavalry of the right wing, and afterwards by the whole army. They summoned the town, and it surrendered with its garrison. They found there plenty of forage and provisions, and encamped that day in the neighbourhood. But the army of the enemy, instead of waiting for them, made haste to get to the little river of Neiß, with a view to shelter themselves behind it. The king of Prussia, not thinking it proper to let them recover from their surprize, caused his troops to continue their march on the twenty-sixth. In his way he took some small magazines, and upon his arrival on the banks of the Neiß, found that the Austrian general had decamped by stealth, and taken the road to Zittau. Frederick immediately detached a strong vanguard, consisting of dragoons, grenadiers, and hussars, under the command of lieutenant-general Bonin, and the major-generals Winterfeld and Kleist, in order to bring the enemy to a battle, if possible, or else to harraß him in his retreat. The Prussian detachment

achment came up with the Austrian army in the evening, after it had proceeded beyond Zittau, and taken post on an eminence, near the road to Gabel. As the Austrians were much superior in numbers, and posted to advantage, the Prussians satisfied themselves with pushing their light troops near them, and taking possession, in their sight, of the town and its suburbs, that they might defend themselves there the next day, in case of an attack, and give the king time to come up with his whole army. But the Austrians decamped at two in the morning, and retreated to Bohemia, through the defiles of Gabel ¹⁵². The Prussians did not know that the Austrians were decamped till day-break, when they issued out of the town to retard them in their march; but as the Austrians had made great haste, and had adopted the usual precautions on such occasions, by putting the best men they had in their rear-guard, the Prussians were obliged to content themselves with some prisoners and plunder. The Austrians left behind them fifteen hundred waggon; though these are said to have been chiefly plundered by the Saxon and Bohemian peasants in the neighbourhood ¹⁵³.

WHILE the Austrians were thus retreating before the king of Prussia into Bohemia, the city of Berlin was exceedingly alarmed with reports of the approach of count Grunn to that capital, at the head

¹⁵² King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 172, 173.

¹⁵³ Ibid. p. 174.

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of a large Austrian army; but the count made no attempt upon the city, his troops were not numerous, and the apprehensions of the inhabitants of Berlin were much greater than their danger. In the mean time, the prince of Anhalt Dessau had made a great progress in Saxony. He had marched from Halle, and attacked the city of LEIPSI^C, which was defended by lieutenant-general count de Renard; but as the troops under his command were not proportioned to the extent of the city, he thought proper to abandon it, in order to save his men, and retreated by the village of Schoenfeld, with a view to get the morass between him and the Prussian army. But, during the night, he entirely left the neighbourhood of Leip^{sic}, and marched to join count Rutowski, who was encamped under the cannon of Dresden. The prince of Anhalt now summoned the city to surrender, which it accordingly did by capitulation; and the prince took possession of it with four battalions of grenadiers. He also sent a detachment of grenadiers, who made themselves masters, on the fifth of December, of the town of TORG^{AU}, where there was a fine magazine. The prince himself afterwards proceeded to that place, by the acquisition of which he secured a communication with the army of the king, from whom he received directions to move towards MEISSEN. On the twelfth of December, early in the morning, the prince detached general count de Gesler, with three hundred hussars, seven

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squadrons of cavalry, and four battalions of grenadiers, to attack that place. General Gessler found the town in the possession of major-general Alembick, with several companies of grenadiers; who, being summoned to surrender, Alembick returned for answer, that he would send to Dresden, to ask advice there of the council of war. The prince arriving in the mean time, at the head of his army, refused to admit of any delay; whereupon Alembick evacuated the place silently, and retired with his men to Dresden. The prince then took possession of Meissen, and was soon after joined by another body of Prussian troops, under the command of general Lehwald ¹⁵⁴.

On the fourteenth of the month, the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt resumed its march, in four columns, and took post near the little village of Roehrsdorf, in order of battle. The following day, the troops continued their march; and the vanguard, consisting entirely of hussars, began to skirmish, near the small town of Wilsdrouff, with some light cavalry, who were commanded by lieutenant-general Sybiliski. After the Prussians had marched about half an hour, they saw the army of the enemy in order of battle, on the eminences of Bennerick and Kesseldorff; the right wing being before Bennerick, and the left behind Kesseldorff, which count Rotowski had lined with seven or eight battalions of Austrian and Saxon

¹⁵⁴ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 178, 180.

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grenadiers, and a great number of cannon. All the first line, and the greatest part of the second, from the left wing to the center, consisted of infantry; the remainder of the second line, and the whole of the third, was cavalry. The batteries of the front and flanks of Kesseldorff were supported on the right by twelve squadrons of dragoons, and on the left by Sybiliski's corps, and some companies of grenadiers, posted in the hollow ways. The left wing began behind that village, extending towards that of Zoelmen, and was covered by a large battery: the center behind Zoelmen had before its front a morass and two batteries. The right, before the village of Bennerick, was fortified with a battery and the little village of Ztschon, which rendered any approach to it extremely difficult. Higher on the right, between the villages of Ockerwitz and Brizewitz, was posted the body under the command of the count de Grunn, excepting two regiments of horse, which made the right wing of the second line of the Saxons ¹⁵⁵.

THE prince of Anhalt, having examined the position of the enemy's army, determined to make his attack on the left, thinking himself certain of victory, if he could make himself master of the post at KESSELDORFF, and thereby get at the enemy's flank. Accordingly he drew up his army in such a manner as he thought would best effectuate his purpose, and it being then about two in the

¹⁵⁵ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 181, 182.

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afternoon, and the shortness of the day not allowing time for unnecessary arrangements, the prince hastened to attack the village with three battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hertzberg, followed by three battalions of the regiment of Anhalt, and supported by five squadrons of Bonin's regiment of dragoons, and five squadrons of Stille's cuirassiers. They marched up with great intrepidity; but the fire of thirty pieces of cannon, well served, and that of seven battalions of grenadiers, with which the village was lined, made such havoc, that they were forced to move a little to the right, that the whole body might not be sacrificed at once. They resumed, however, the same attack, but were still unsuccessful; which emboldened the enemy's grenadiers to fall out, that they might attack the assailants with still more effect. But this fallly proved highly detrimental to the Austrians and Saxons, and extremely beneficial to the Prussians. For the prince of Anhalt having ordered Bonin's dragoons to attack the grenadiers of the enemy at full speed, they soon routed them, entered with them into the village, and made a most dreadful slaughter. In the mean time, some of the Prussian battalions made themselves masters of the batteries, and of that whole post; and Stille's regiment of cuirassiers, leaving KESSELDORFF on the right, drove out all the horse and foot that were in the defiles, and on the eminences, and got to the flank of their army.

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THE whole front of the Prussian army now advanced, and the battle became nearly general. The right wing of the Prussian infantry got between the village and its neighbourhood, pushed those regiments of the Austrians and Saxons that were before it, and threw the whole of their two lines into confusion; and this was done the more effectually, because the right wing of the Prussian cavalry had not only gained the enemy's flank, but also got upon their rear, having met with little resistance from most of their squadrons, which at the first charge gave way. From the left wing of the Prussians some battalions were detached, which took post near Zoelmen, and maintained it, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, and a terrible fire from the Saxon artillery upon their flanks. Soon after the whole line of the Prussians advanced across the morasses between KESSELDORFF, Zoelmen, and Bennerick, attacked the enemy's center and right wing, and put them to flight without much resistance, their left wing being before entirely routed. Fifty squadrons which yet remained on the eminences behind Zoelmen, were driven from their posts by some Prussian battalions, as were also the troops under the command of the count de Grunn; and the prince of Anhalt had now obtained a compleat victory ¹⁵⁶.

VOLTAIRE, speaking of this action, says, 'It was the famous old PRINCE OF ANHALT who

¹⁵⁶ King of Prussia's Campaigns, p. 183, 184, 185.

'gained

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gained this decisive victory. He had been a warrior fifty years, and was the first that entered into the lines of the French army at Turin in 1707. For conducting the infantry, he was esteemed the most experienced officer in Europe. This great battle was the last that filled up the measure of his military glory; the only glory which he had enjoyed, for fighting was his only province ^{157.} In the battle of KESSELDORFF, great numbers of the Austrians and Saxons were killed and wounded, and four thousand were made prisoners. Among the prisoners were four generals, and a great number of other officers; and the Prussians also made themselves masters of all the Austrian and Saxon artillery.

THE king of Prussia himself, with the troops with which he had driven the Austrians into Bohemia, arrived in the neighbourhood of Kesseldorf, two days after the victory obtained there by the prince of Anhalt. He immediately proceeded to DRESDEN, and summoned that city to surrender. Before his arrival, the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, had withdrawn from his capital, and retired to Prague. Dresden surrendered, by capitulation, on the eighteenth of December; and the king of Prussia 'entered it,' says Voltaire, 'followed by ten battalions and ten squadrons. He disarmed three regiments of the militia which composed the garrison; went to the palace, where

¹⁵⁷ Age of Lewis XV. ch. 17.

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‘ he visited the two princes, and the three prin-
 ‘ cesses, the children of the king of Poland, who
 ‘ resided in it; he embraced them, and shewed
 ‘ them all the marks of tenderness and regard,
 ‘ which might be expected from the most polite
 ‘ man of his age. He ordered the shops and ware-
 ‘ houses, which had been shut up, to be opened;
 ‘ gave a dinner to all the foreign ministers; and
 ‘ had an Italian opera played. In short, it was
 ‘ scarcely perceptible, that the town was in the
 ‘ power of the conqueror; and the surrender of
 ‘ Dresden was signalized only by the entertainments
 ‘ that this monarch gave there ¹⁵⁸.’

THE politeness of the king of Prussia did not, however, prevent him from levying very heavy contributions on the inhabitants of Saxony. And the king of Poland, who had thought it necessary to withdraw from the capital of his electorate, and who was weakly supported by his allies, was now induced to enter into a negociation with Frederick. Mr. Villiers, the British minister at the court of Dresden, was employed in the negociation, and a treaty of peace was concluded in a few days, under the mediation of his Britannick majesty. The court of Vienna, which had carried on the war against the king of Prussia, for some time past, with little success, agreed also to be comprehended in the treaty. In some letters which passed, during the course of the negociation, between the king of

¹⁵⁸ Age of Lewis XV. ut supra.

Prussia and Mr. Villiers, Frederick professed great esteem for the British minister, and declared, in very strong terms, his own desire of peace, if the king of Poland would agree to a reasonable accommodation. He seemed hurt, that his Polish majesty should have quitted his capital; which was, he said, in his opinion, offering him an affront. He had always, he observed, esteemed his Polish majesty personally; and, amidst the greatest ravages of war, respect would have been had to his character and family. But as an inducement to the king of Poland to comply with his terms, Frederick remarked, that "without hate, or private animosity, all the world must agree, that eighty thousand men, in such a country as Saxony, could not fail of ruining it in course of time"¹³⁹.

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By the treaty of DRESDEN, which was concluded on the twenty-fifth of December, 1745, it was stipulated, that all the contributions levied by his Prussian majesty, in the electorate of Saxony, to the twenty-second of December, inclusive, should be retained to his proper use; and that his Polish majesty should also, at the Easter fair at Leipzig, pay to the king of Prussia one million of German crowns, with interest, at the rate of five *per cent.* to be computed from the day of signing the treaty. The subjects of his Prussian majesty, who were interested in the Saxon funds, were to be exactly

¹³⁹ Letters of the King of Prussia to Mr. Villiers, published in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XVI. p. 142, 143, 144.

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paid. The king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, was not to make any innovations, to the prejudice of the Protestant religion, in that electorate. The Saxons who had enlisted in the Prussian service, from the time that the Prussians entered Saxony, were to continue in that service. The queen of Hungary ceded Silesia to the king of Prussia, in the same manner that it had been ceded by the treaty of Breslaw, in which the king of Poland concurred, and which was guarantied by the king of Great Britain. The elector palatine was comprehended in this treaty, and both he, and the king of Prussia, agreed to acknowledge the grand duke of Tuscany as emperor of Germany; and his imperial majesty confirmed, in favour of the king of Prussia, certain privileges *de non evocando*, conceded to his Prussian majesty by the late emperor Charles VII. which related to some territories possessed by the king of Prussia, not appertaining to the electorate of Brandenburg. This treaty was signed by the Saxon minister, by count Podewills, cabinet minister to the king of Prussia, by count Kaunitz, the imperial minister, and by Mr. Villiers, the British minister at the court of Dresden.

COUNT Algarotti informs us, that after the battle of Kesseldorff, the prince of Anhalt promised the pillage of Dresden to his soldiers, as a recompence for their behaviour in that action: but the king would not suffer the city to be plundered ¹⁶⁰. It

¹⁶⁰ Letters military and political, p. 111.

is also said, that the most exact discipline was observed by the Prussian troops, during their stay at Dresden; and it is mentioned as an instance of the king's moderation, that he would not even suffer his brother, Augustus William, to gratify his curiosity, by seeing the rarities deposited in the Green Vault, lest any accident should happen to them ¹⁶¹. What is called the Green Vault consists, according to baron Pollnitz, of three arched rooms, painted green, and which, he says, is "one of the finest places in the world, and contains immense riches, shining all over with gold, precious stones, and diamonds." These rooms certainly contain a prodigious number of natural and artificial curiosities.

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AFTER the peace of Dresden was concluded, the Prussian troops evacuated Saxony, and Frederick returned immediately to Berlin, where he was received by his subjects with loud acclamations. On the day that he entered the city, he was met, about six miles from it, by great numbers of citizens of Berlin, and others, on horseback, marshalled in companies, who attended him to his palace. The king sat in an open phaëton, and was accompanied by his two brothers, the prince of Prussia, and prince Henry ¹⁶². The number of spectators who surrounded the carriage was so great, that the horses could advance only step by step;

¹⁶¹ Memoirs of Frederick III, p. 89, 90.

¹⁶² Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 5.

and

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and the solemnity of their pace added to the dignity of this triumphant entry. Great numbers of coaches, filled with nobility and gentry who came to meet the king, had now joined the procession. The air resounded with the acclamations of the people, who cried out, "Long live the king; long live FREDERICK THE GREAT." Frederick saluted the spectators on the right and on the left, and said to those who eagerly crowded to see him, "Do not press each other, my children. Take care of yourselves, that the horses may not trample upon you, and that no accident may happen." In his whole behaviour on this occasion, the king exhibited the utmost mildness, gentleness, and affability; and seemed to be under the influence of the greatest affection for his people. When he arrived at the palace, the crowd renewed their acclamations; and the citizens, who had been formed into companies to meet him at a distance from the city, drew up, with drums beating, and colours flying, under the palace windows.

AT six o'clock in the evening, the whole city was illuminated. Frederick then went into his coach, attended by the prince of Prussia and prince Henry, and was followed by prince Ferdinand, in order to make the circuit of the city. But the king had now received information, that M. DUCHAN, who had been one of his preceptors, lay at the point of death. And, notwithstanding the general joy and exultation, Frederick quitted the

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pomp of the court, and the triumph of the city, that he might perform the last offices of humanity to his old preceptor. He ordered his carriage to be driven to the house of M. Duhan, which was situated in a kind of court, the houses of which were so crowded with lamps, in consequence of the general illumination, that when the king and his brothers entered the sick man's chamber, it was found necessary, on account of the heat, though in the depth of winter, to open the windows. "It was an affecting sight," says Bielfeld, "to see a dying man, in the midst of a brilliant illumination, surrounded by princes, and visited by a triumphant monarch, who, in the midst of the incessant clamour of exultation, sought only to alleviate the sick man's pangs, participating of his distress, and reflecting upon the vanity of all human grandeur." When the king had taken a tender adieu of M. Duhan, who survived only till the next day, he went again into his coach, rode round the city, and returned to the palace about ten that evening ¹⁶³.

THREE days after the king's return to Berlin, he gave a splendid entertainment at the opera-house, as the Feast of Peace. The court was seated at six large tables; and, behind the scenes, and in the different apartments of the theatre, a cold collation, with a desert, and plenty of wine, was provided for the citizens of Berlin. The opera-house was illu-

¹⁶³ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 10, 11, 13.

minated

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minated in the inside with wax candles, and on the outside with lamps. Directly fronting the theatre was erected a building, which represented the temple of JANUS; the gates of which were fastened by a foldier in a Roman habit. Behind this temple were exhibited some magnificent fireworks. A grand masquerade ball was likewise given on the occasion, which lasted till day-light ¹⁶⁴.

THE opera-house, in which this splendid entertainment was given, is a very magnificent structure, and was begun to be erected by Frederick at the commencement of his reign. Dr. Burney observes, that it was first opened on the birth-day of the queen-mother, in the year 1742 ¹⁶⁵. The principal front has two entrances, one level with the ground, and the other by a grand double flight of steps. This front is decorated with six Corinthian pillars, with their entablature entire, supporting a pediment ornamented with reliefs, and with the following inscription upon it:

FRIDERICUS REX APOLLINI ET MUSIS.

THE front of this edifice is also decorated with a considerable number of statues of poets, and dramatic actors, which are placed in niches. The two sides are constructed in the same manner,

¹⁶⁴ Bielfeld's Letters, vol. II. p. 14.

¹⁶⁵ Present State of Music in Germany, vol. II, p. 101. second edition.

only there are no pillars ¹⁶⁶. There is a very large
 pit in this opera-house; and it has also four rows
 of boxes, and three galleries; and has been com-
 puted capable of containing more than two thou-
 sand persons.

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¹⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 95, 96.

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CHAP. X.

Attention of the king of Prussia to civil regulations, and matters of domestic policy.—Establishment of the Frederician code.—M. Maupertuis placed at the head of the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres.—New regulations of that academy.—Frederick grants permission for the erection of a Roman Catholic church at Berlin.

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AT the commencement of the year 1746, peace being established in Germany, the king of Prussia was at leisure to attend to civil regulations in his dominions, and to the promotion of commerce, literature, science, and the arts. These objects, therefore, in a considerable degree engaged his attention; and he also endeavoured to introduce a great reform into the courts of justice, and in the forms and expence of legal proceedings. He had remarked the long delays, and the enormous expences, which were attendant upon law-suits; and he considered these as a great evil to his subjects. He had also observed, that each of his provinces had a different mode of judicial procedure, which in many cases was productive of great inconveniencies. With a view, therefore, to remedy these evils, he proposed that the forms of all the courts, in every part of his dominions, should be reduced to one uniform course of procedure, by which

which all causes might be prepared for hearing, and terminated in the course of a year, though the litigating parties should bring them into two courts; and even if appeals were made to the supreme tribunal, the causes were to be finally settled within that time. This plan the king communicated to baron COCCEIUS, his high chancellor; and directed him to make an experiment of it in Pomerania, a large province, which antiently was called *terra litigiosa*, on account of the litigious disposition of its inhabitants¹⁶⁷. The king's plan succeeded so well in Pomerania, that it was also tried in other provinces, and at length produced the FREDERICIAN CODE, which was adopted in all the Prussian dominions. It was first published in the German language, and afterwards published in French; and an English translation of it was printed at Edinburgh, in 1761, in two volumes, 8vo. under the following title: "The FREDERICIAN CODE; or, a body of law for the dominions of the king of Prussia, founded on reason, and the constitutions of the country."

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By the new regulations which now took place in judicial proceedings, throughout the Prussian dominions, the attornies, who had formerly the care of collecting evidence and of adjusting all the preliminaries of a suit, were totally dismissed; the whole business was put into the hands of the advo-

¹⁶⁷ Summary View of the King's Plan for the regulation of Judicial Proceedings, written by M. Formey, and prefixed to the Frederician Code, vol. I. p. vi.

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cates; and the office of an attorney was annulled for ever. An inquiry was also ordered into the qualifications of the advocates. All those who practised without a regular admission, or who should be convicted of illicit practices, were to be discarded. And the judges were commanded to examine which of the causes, then depending, had been protracted by the crimes or ignorance of the advocates, and to dismiss those who should be found culpable. The fees of advocates were exactly ascertained; and no fees were to be paid till the cause was terminated. Advocates were strictly enjoined not to undertake any cause, nor to begin any process, before they had obtained from their clients all the information necessary for setting the matter in a true light, and enabling the judges to give a just decision. The number of advocates to be employed in each court was fixed, and a distinct advocate was appointed for the poor. No advocate was admitted in petty courts, small towns, or villages; where the poverty of the people, and generally the low value of the matter contested, rendered dispatch absolutely necessary. In such places, the parties were to appear before a judge appointed for the district, who was directed to make a summary decision.

THAT the king of Prussia had considered the nature and design of laws with more attention than is usual to princes, is manifest from his "Dissertation on the reasons for the enacting and repeal-

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“ing of laws,” of which an English translation has been published, and annexed to the first volume of his “Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg.” In this Dissertation, he says, ‘A perfect body of laws would be one of the noblest productions of the human mind. Such a work would require an unity of design, and so great an exactness and proportion of rules, that a state directed by those laws would be like a watch, whose springs are all made for the same end. It would require a profound knowledge of the human heart, and of the temper and constitution of the people. It would require moderation in the infliction of punishments, so as to preserve the morals of the people, without being either too mild, or too severe. It would require a singular perspicuity and distinctness in wording the decrees, so as never to afford any room for chicanery; and the decrees themselves should be an abstract of the best regulations of the civil law, adapted with ingenuity and simplicity to the customs of the nation. In short, it would require sagacity to provide against every case that may happen, and judgment to combine even the minutest circumstances. But perfection is not to be expected from the frail condition of humanity.’ Frederick also observes, that ‘a few wise laws make a nation happy; but a multiplicity of them embarrasses the administration of justice. As a skilful physician does not overload his patient with medicines, so a wise legislator does

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‘not burthen the public with superfluous laws.
 ‘Medicines, when too numerous, obstruct one
 ‘another, and have not their proper effect; so too
 ‘many laws become a labyrinth, in which the
 ‘lawyers and justice itself are lost.’

IN the course of this dissertation, the king likewise makes some observations concerning the establishment of laws among the nations of antiquity, and more particularly the Roman laws. He afterwards proceeds to the laws and constitution of England, gives some account of Magna Charta, and makes the following remarks relative to the laws of England: ‘Though England has a great many
 ‘good laws, yet there is, perhaps, no country in
 ‘Europe, where they are so badly executed. Rapin
 ‘Thoyras justly remarks, that it is owing to a defect in the government, that the regal power is
 ‘continually clashing with that of the parliament;
 ‘that their time is employed in watching each other,
 ‘either to maintain or to enlarge their authority;
 ‘that this jealousy between the king and the representatives of the nation, takes off their attention
 ‘from the due administration of justice; and that
 ‘this restless and tumultuous government is continually altering its laws by new acts of parliament,
 ‘according to the exigency of different conjunctures
 ‘and events; from whence it follows, that there is
 ‘no kingdom whatsoever that has so great a need
 ‘of a reformation in the law as England.’ That
 there is much occasion for reformation in the laws
 of

of England, that they are too voluminous, that there is often too much delay in the administration of justice, and that law-suits are too expensive, may readily be admitted. But there is nothing in the constitution of England that would prevent a revivification of the laws, or that renders it impracticable to remedy these evils. And as to what our royal author says of the "restless and tumultuous government" of England, it is certain, that much more tranquillity was enjoyed in England, during Frederick's reign, than in the Prussian dominions.

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THE king of Prussia was of opinion, that the punishments inflicted for robbery, in most countries, were too severe. 'Robberies,' says he, 'attended with aggravating circumstances, deserve to be punished with death; but those committed without violence, may be viewed in such a light as to excite compassion towards the guilty. The distance is infinite between the situation of the rich and of the poor. The one roll in affluence, and riot in superfluity. The other are forsaken by fortune, and destitute even of necessaries. If a poor fellow steals, through want, a few pistoles, or a gold watch, from a man whose wealth even prevents him from feeling the loss, is this a reason for condemning him to death? Does not humanity call upon us to soften the severity of the punishment? It seems, indeed, that this law was made by the rich; and have not the poor a right to say, "Is

CHAP. " there no compassion due to our unhappy situa-
 X. " tion? If you were charitable, if you were hu-
 A. D. " mane, you would succour us in our distress, and
 1746. " then we should not rob you. We ask you whe-
 " ther it be fair, that all the pleasures of life should
 " fall to your share, and nothing but misery to
 " ours ¹⁶⁸?"

FREDERICK also condemns the practice of employing torture to extort confession, which he censures as equally cruel and useless; and which he had, much to his honour, abolished throughout his own dominions. But on this subject he makes a mistake respecting England. 'In England,' says he, 'they had formerly the ordeal, or purgation by fire and by water. At present, they have a kind of torture less severe than the ordinary one, but which amounts nearly to the same thing ¹⁶⁹.' Frederick seems to have been led into this misapprehension, by the antient law which prevailed in this country, that those persons should be pressed to death, who refused to plead either guilty or not guilty. But this was a very different thing from torture to extort confession; an occasion to put this law in force seldom occurred; and it is now wholly abolished by act of parliament.

IN 1746, M. MAUPERTUIS was appointed president of the royal academy of sciences and belles

¹⁶⁸ Dissertation sur les raisons d'établir ou d'abroger les loix, p. 571, 572. edit. Lond. 1767. ¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 575, 576.

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lettres at Berlin; and on the tenth of May, that year, some new laws, for the regulation of the academy, were approved and confirmed by the king¹⁷⁰. The academy was to continue, as before, divided into four classes. The first class was that of experimental philosophy, comprehending chymistry, anatomy, botany, and all the sciences which are founded upon experiment. The second class, that of mathematics, comprehending geometry, algebra, mechanics, astronomy, and all the sciences which have for their object abstract extension, or numbers. The third class, that of speculative philosophy, included logic, metaphysics, and morals. The fourth class was that of the belles lettres, and comprehended antiquities, history, and languages¹⁷¹. The academy was to consist of three kinds of academicians, honorary, ordinary, and foreigners. The honorary members were not to be confined to any particular class, were to be only sixteen in number, and were not obliged to produce any papers. The ordinary members were to be divided into veterans, pensionaries, and associates. The veterans were to consist of those who, after long services, had merited a dispensation from academical labours, and the continuance of their pensions and privileges. The pensionaries were to be twelve in number, and the associates the same; and every pensionary

¹⁷⁰ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 311. edit. 1768

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p. 303, 304.

CHAP. was to read two papers a year, and every associate
 X. one. All new members were to be elected by the
 A. D. majority of the members present in the meetings
 1746. of the academy; excepting that when there was a
 vacancy of a pensionary's place, the academy should
 fix upon three persons, two of whom should be
 members of the academy, and one who was not a
 member; and out of these three the king should
 fix upon the person to supply the vacancy. The
 ordinary meetings of the academy were to be holden
 every Thursday, except at certain vacations; and
 the president, four curators of the academy, the
 secretary, the historiographer, and the librarian, were
 to constitute a committee, and to meet once a
 month, in order to fix upon such papers as should
 be published in the memoirs of the academy.

THESE new regulations were chiefly drawn up by
 Maupertuis, but some additions were made by the
 king's own hand. Frederick was desirous of giv-
 ing more power to the president, than was consist-
 ent with those liberal sentiments, which ought to pre-
 vail in an academy of sciences: and even in the
 new regulations of the academy his ideas seem to
 have been somewhat military. In the additions to
 these regulations made by the king himself, he says,
 ' The president Maupertuis shall have authority to
 ' bestow the vacant pensions upon those persons
 ' whom he shall judge to merit them, to abolish
 ' the smaller pensions, and to increase those that are

' too

‘too small, in such manner as he shall judge proper. He shall also preside in the academy, without regard to rank, over all the members of it, whether honorary or otherwise; and nothing shall be done but by him: in the same manner as a general, who, in other respects, has no other rank than that of a gentleman, commands dukes and princes in an army, without any person taking offence at it ¹⁷³.’

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As Frederick, from the beginning of his reign, had shewn himself to be a friend to toleration in matters of religion, the Roman Catholicks of Berlin were encouraged to apply to him this year, for permission to erect a church in that city. He accordingly readily granted their request, assigned them a convenient place for the purpose, gave them permission to erect as large a church as they pleased, with steeples and bells, and authorized them to receive contributions for the purpose from the Roman Catholicks throughout his dominions. He also promised, for himself and his successors, that the church so erected should never be converted to any other use, than for the celebration of divine worship, according to the rites of the Romish religion ¹⁷³.

IN the year 1746, Frederick appears chiefly to have resided at POTSDAM. In the evenings he al-

¹⁷³ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, ut supra, p. 307, 309.

¹⁷³ Gent. Mag. vol. XVII. p. 66, 67.

CHAP. X. ways had a concert, and afterwards generally sup-
A. D. ped with a select party. Bielfeld was frequently of
1746. this number; they conversed with much freedom;
and they often sat up till a late hour. "When the
"concert is over," says that writer, "we sit down
"to supper; the conversation is gay; and the king
"is frequently surprized to hear the clock strike,
"two hours after midnight, when he thought he
"had scarcely been an hour at table ^{174.}"

¹⁷⁴ Letters, vol. II. p. 24, 25.

CHAP. XI.

Frederick publishes his Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, and his poem on the Art of War.—Some account of those performances.—Journeys made by the king.—Entertainments of the court, at his different country palaces.

AS the king of Prussia, in the course of his studies, had naturally been attentive to the history of his own family, and his own country, he was induced, from his desire of obtaining accurate information on the subject, to draw up his MEMOIRES POUR SERVIR A L'HISTOIRE DE LA MAISON DE BRANDENBURGH. M. Hertzberg, who has since distinguished himself as a very able minister of state, but who was then a young man just come from the university, was employed in collecting some of the materials ¹⁷⁵. These Memoirs were afterwards printed at Berlin, and read, at different times, to the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres. The first part was read at the royal academy on the first of June, 1747 ¹⁷⁶, by M. Darget, member of the academy, and secretary to the king. The king's brothers, and his sister the princess Amelia, were present on this occasion ¹⁷⁷. An English trans-

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¹⁷⁵ Memoire Historique sur la derniere annee de la vie de Frederick, &c. p. 15.

¹⁷⁶ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 312. ¹⁷⁷ Id. ibid.

CHAP. XI. lation of the MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE OF BRAN-
 A. D. DENBURGH, has been published in two volumes,
 1747. 12mo. the first volume in 1758, and the second in
 1768. The king dedicated this work to his brother, the prince-royal of Prussia. In this dedication Frederick bestows high encomiums on that prince, and expresses himself in the following terms respecting the manner in which he had written his Memoirs: 'I have treated the subject,' says he, 'with freedom and impartiality, so as to exhibit 'the princes of your house in their real colours. 'The same pen, which has drawn the civil and 'military virtues of the great elector, has glanced 'at the foibles of the first king of Prussia, and those 'passions, which, in the order of Providence, contributed afterwards to raise this house to its present 'pitch of grandeur. I have divested myself of 'all manner of prejudice, and considered princes, 'kings, relations, only as ordinary men. Far from 'being biassed by the weight of power, or from 'idolizing my ancestors, I have freely condemned 'their vices, because vice should find no patronage 'on the throne. I have praised virtue wherever 'I have found it, but at the same time have guarded against that enthusiasm which it naturally inspires; to the end that nothing but truth, in her 'plain and native dress, should reign throughout 'this history.'

THE Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg contain much valuable and curious information,

and are written with perspicuity, spirit, and vivacity; but misrepresentations occasionally occur, and there are some very exceptionable passages. The account given by him of the rise of the reformation, is neither just nor candid, and is very unfavourable to the reformers. Speaking of JOHN HUSS, and the Bohemian Protestants, he says, 'Huss was burnt at the council of Constance. His pretended martyrdom enflamed the zeal of his disciples. The Bohemians, who were too dull a people to enter into the sophistical disputes of the Theologians, embraced this new sect only from that spirit of independence and mutiny, which is so much the characteristic of this nation. These new converts shook off the papal yoke, and made use of the liberty of their consciences, as a cloak to cover the crime of their revolt ¹⁷³.' Of the Restoration of Charles II. and the Revolution in 1688, he gives the following account: 'After the death of Cromwell, his son Richard, who was more a philosopher than a politician, having renounced the power that the protector had left him by his usurpation, the English called with one voice Charles II. to the throne of his father. After his death, James II. succeeded him. William, stadtholder of Holland, who had married his eldest daughter, named Mary, made his advantage of the dislike that the English nation had

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¹⁷³ Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de la Maison de Brandenburgh, tom. I. p. 27. edit. Lond. 1767.

' against

CHAP. ' against their king, whose chief crime was that he
 XI. ' was a Roman Catholic. He had formed, for a
 A. D. ' considerable time, a large party against that prince
 1747. ' in England. That party began to shew itself soon
 ' after the death of the great elector; and it was
 ' then that the prince of Orange undertook to de-
 ' throne his father-in-law, and he was then willing
 ' to owe only to his arms, that which his intrigues
 ' seemed too slowly to procure him. A Jew of
 ' Amsterdam, named Suasso, lent him two mil-
 ' lions for this expedition; saying to him, "If
 " you succeed, I know you will repay me; if you
 " miscarry, I am content to lose the money." With
 ' this sum William went over into England, de-
 ' throned king James, subdued the opposite party,
 ' and became, in some measure, the lawful sove-
 ' reign of those three kingdoms, by the approba-
 ' tion of the people, who seemed to authorize his
 ' usurpation ¹⁷⁹.' This account of the Revolution,
 does not afford a very favourable specimen of the
 accuracy, or fidelity, of Frederick's narrations.

THE account also given by the king of Prussia,
 in this work, of the attempt made in England to
 introduce the Excise-scheme, in the reign of his
 uncle, king George II. is not unworthy of atten-
 tion. ' George II.' says he, ' had formed the scheme
 ' of rendering himself absolute in Great Britain.
 ' This was an enterprize that could not be com-

¹⁷⁹ Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de la Maison de Brandenburgh, tom. I. p. 208, 209.

' passed

' passed by open force, but privately, and by in-
 ' direct means. To introduce the Excise in Eng-
 ' land, and to enslave the nation, was one and the
 ' same thing. If the scheme succeeded, it would
 ' give the king a fixed and certain revenue, with
 ' which he might increase his army, and establish
 ' his power. Walpole having proposed the intro-
 ' duction of the excise to some members of parlia-
 ' ment, on whom he thought he might depend,
 ' they declared, that the pay they received from
 ' him was only to support the usual course of ab-
 ' surd measures, and not so extraordinary a project
 ' as that was. Notwithstanding these representa-
 ' tions, Walpole brought the affair into parliament,
 ' where he harangued with so much eloquence, as
 ' to carry his point, in spite of Pulteney, and the
 ' cabal which then opposed the court. His victory
 ' appeared so compleat, that the bill for the excise
 ' was carried by a great majority. The next day,
 ' an insurrection had nearly taken place in the city.
 ' The lords, and the principal merchants, addressed
 ' the king, demanding a suppression of the bill.
 ' Though care had been taken to surround the
 ' house with guards, the people gathered about it
 ' in great numbers. They filled the air with their
 ' seditious cries, and began to insult the king's of-
 ' ficers; so that they seemed to want nothing but
 ' a head to render the rebellion compleat. Wal-
 ' pole, who saw that the affair was becoming very
 ' serious, now thought that it was time to retreat.

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' He

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‘ He immediately cancelled the bill, and sallied
 ‘ out from the parliament-house, disguised in an
 ‘ old cloak, and crying out, LIBERTY, LIBERTY,
 ‘ AND NO EXCISE! He found the king at St.
 ‘ James’s, arming himself *cap-a-pe*; he had already
 ‘ put on the beaver that he wore at Malplaquet;
 ‘ he was trying on the sword with which he had
 ‘ fought at Oudenarde; and was for putting him-
 ‘ self at the head of his guards, assembled in the
 ‘ court of the palace, in order to support his ex-
 ‘ cise-scheme with firmness. It was with great dif-
 ‘ ficulty that Walpole could moderate his impe-
 ‘ tuosity; he represented to him, with all the ge-
 ‘ nerous boldness of an Englishman, attached to
 ‘ his master, that this was no time for fighting, but
 ‘ for choosing between the bill and the crown. In
 ‘ short, the scheme of excise fell to the ground;
 ‘ and the king, greatly dissatisfied with his parlia-
 ‘ ment, began to distrust his own authority, of
 ‘ which he had been in danger of making a very
 ‘ sorrowful experiment ¹⁸⁰.’

To the Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg
 four Dissertations were added: I. On Superstition
 and Religion. II. On manners, customs, industry,
 and the progress of the human understanding in
 the arts and sciences. III. On the antient and mo-
 dern government of Brandenburg. IV. On the
 reasons for the enacting and repealing of laws; of
 which I have taken some notice in the preceding

¹⁸⁰ Memoires de Brandenburg, p. 359, 360, 361.

chapter. At the close of the first of these dissertations, after speaking of the different sects of religion in Prussia, Frederick expresses himself in the following manner: 'All these sects live here in peace, and contribute alike to the prosperity of the state: for there is no religion which differs greatly from the rest with respect to morality. Hence they may be all equal to the government, which of course leaves every man to go to heaven which way he pleases. All that is required of him is, that he should be a good citizen. False zeal is a tyrant that depopulates provinces; toleration is a tender mother, that nourishes them, and makes them flourish ¹⁸¹."

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ABOUT this time the king of Prussia also wrote his POEM ON THE ART OF WAR ¹⁸², in six books, which is his largest poetical production, and of which an English translation was published in 4to. in 1780. The FIRST book opens with an address to the prince of Prussia, followed by wishes, that the Prussian dominions might never be exposed to the calamities of war; an exhortation being, however, at the same time added, that if ever Prussia should be attacked by a proud and ambitious enemy, its kings and people should courageously unite together in defence of their country. The royal author afterwards proceeds to inculcate the

¹⁸¹ Memoires de Brandenburgh, p. 459, 460.

¹⁸² Memoire Historique sur la derniere annee de la vie, &c. p. 15, 16.

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first principles of the military art; he urges the necessity that the young soldier is under, of first learning to obey, that he may hereafter be qualified to command; he points out the importance of an exact discipline; and illustrates the different evolutions and manœuvres of the infantry and cavalry. He then applauds the military science of the antient Greeks; SPARTA, he observes, was the cradle and the school of warriors; and he celebrates MILTIADES, CIMON, EPAMINONDAS, and ALEXANDER the Great¹³³. From the Greeks he proceeds to the Romans, of whose military skill he speaks in the highest terms; and afterwards, among modern warriors, celebrates marefchal TURENNE and prince EUGENE.

IN the SECOND book, Frederick treats of that important branch of the military art, the choice of an encampment, adapted to the particular circumstances of the army, and to the designs of the commander. He celebrates the praises of FABIUS, HANNIBAL, LEONIDAS, and MONTECUCULLI; and he recommends to generals, that they should regulate their conduct by that of the enemy, that they should be vigilant, and ready to anticipate whatever may happen; that they should take possession of the most advantageous posts, march with rapidity, seize every advantage, retreat without loss,

¹³³ Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, tom. II. p. 8. edit. Berlin, 1760, 12mo.

advance readily and at the proper moment, and always be occupied in new designs ¹⁸⁴.

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THE THIRD book begins with a highly poetical description of the temple of Mars; in which, among other allegorical personages, Experience holds a distinguished place; and in this book he celebrates JULIUS CÆSAR, ALCIBIADES, PAULUS ÆMILIUS, SCIPIO, the prince of CONDE', VILLARS, the prince of ANHALT, GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, and his ancestor the GREAT ELECTOR; and also enumerates some of the most splendid actions of prince EUGENE.

IN the FOURTH book, he treats of the art of fortifying and defending cities; and takes notice of the invention of gunpowder, and the alteration which that discovery, and the use of artillery, has made in the art of war, and particularly in the case of sieges. He celebrates VAUBAN for his skill in the erection of fortifications; lays down rules for conducting sieges; and gives an interesting description of the taking of Magdeburgh, and the massacre of its inhabitants; reprobating, with a just severity, the infamous behaviour of Tilly, the Austrian general, on that occasion.

IN the FIFTH book, Frederick treats of the method of securing and connecting together the winter quarters; and he shews how important a part of the business of a general it is, to provide proper subsistence for his troops. In winter, he

¹⁸⁴ Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, tom. II. p. 18, 19.

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also remarks, that the places of those soldiers, whose lives had been lost in the preceding campaign, should be supplied by new recruits; he shews the necessity that a general is under, of not being off his guard even during winter; and he points out the danger and dishonour of being surprized in winter quarters, by the example of Bournonville; who, having extended too much his quarters in Alsace, was suddenly attacked by Turenne, and driven on the other side of the Rhine; though he had a numerous army, the very flower of Germany. But he also exhibits more pleasing scenes: he paints the warrior, in the winter, returning to his home, revisiting his wife and children, and enjoying all the delights of conjugal and parental affection ²⁸⁵.

THE SIXTH book treats of battles; and in this book Frederick lays down such rules, as are most likely to ensure success to those generals who lead armies on to battle; and he illustrates his rules by some of the most famous battles in antient and in modern times. In the conduct of a battle he shews, that valour alone is not sufficient, but that prudence, foresight, and sagacity are necessary; and he particularly cautions his military readers against too much confidence and presumption. He also remarks, that battles should not be wantonly engaged in without prospect of advantage; but that a general should consider himself as the father of his

²⁸⁵ Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, ut supra, p. 44, 45.

soldiers,

soldiers, and not sacrifice their lives unnecessarily. But, when an action becomes proper, every nerve is to be strained, every effort to be employed, in order to obtain the victory. He shews, that it is more advantageous to attack an enemy, than to wait to receive their attacks; that an able general should have the utmost self-possession in the midst of the hottest action; that he should be fertile in resources; and that when a battle is gained, the greatest care should be taken to make the proper advantage of it. Among other generals who are celebrated in this book, is his opponent prince CHARLES of LORRAIN, whose military science he highly applauds, and particularly that display which he made of it in his passage over the Rhine, in the sight of the French army ¹⁷⁴⁷.

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THE king of Prussia's poem on L'ART DE LA GUERRE contains many sound and important principles of the military art, adorned with the graces of poetry; but it is a singular circumstance, that in a poem on this subject, in which he has celebrated so many antient and modern generals, in which he has repeatedly bestowed very high encomiums on prince Eugene, and even mentioned the battle of Blenheim ¹⁷⁴⁷, he should with the most extreme caution have avoided making the least mention of our illustrious JOHN duke of MARLBOROUGH. This striking omission was very properly, and in a

¹⁷⁴ Oeuvres du Philosophe de Sans-Souci, ut supra, p. 59.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 56.

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manner justly farcastic, animadverted upon in the following passage in the Monthly Review¹³³: 'It is somewhat remarkable, that in a poem treating of the art of war, and in which all the great commanders of antient and modern times are occasionally introduced, no heroes of English story are so much as once mentioned, not even the glorious MARLBOROUGH; though the very generals he so frequently defeated have respectable places assigned them in this temple of Fame. It is not to be supposed that this silence, with respect to MARLBOROUGH, proceeded from invidious motives; we rather think, that his Prussian majesty considered HIM as a general who understood ONLY PART OF HIS PROFESSION, having never given any proof of his skill IN CONDUCTING A RETREAT.'

IN the year 1747, M. Bielfeld attended the king in journies to Silesia, Magdeburgh, and Stettin, in each of which places Frederick reviewed his troops, examined into the state of the police, and made regulations respecting government and the finances. The same gentleman accompanied the king, both that year and the preceding, in different parties of pleasure at his several country palaces, of which he gives the following account: 'We have passed,' says he, 'part of the two last summers sometimes at SANS-SOUCI, sometimes at CHARLOTTENBURG, sometimes at ORANGEBOURG, and sometimes at RHEINSBERG. The queens, the

¹³³ Vol. LXV. p. 285.

'princes,

'princes, the princesses, and the greatest part of
 'those gentlemen and ladies who belong to the
 'court, have been of these parties. Every where
 'we have found commodious and well-furnished
 'apartments, agreeable entertainments, superb gar-
 'dens, balls, illuminations, fire-works, a royal table,
 'and wine fit for the gods. The king has enjoyed
 'a continual flow of spirits, and we have constantly
 'regarded him as the author and supporter of all
 'our joy. At Rheinsberg, his majesty permitted
 'us to act the tragedy of Britannicus, in which I
 'played the part of Nero. Almost all the other
 'performers were princes. The princess Amelia
 'performed the part of Agrippina with amazing
 'force and propriety ¹³⁹.'

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DURING their stay at Charlottenbourg, a fire
 broke out in the palace, which did great damage,
 and endangered the lives of some of the royal
 family. The king had invited the queen consort,
 and the queen dowager, to spend some weeks at
 Charlottenbourg; in consequence of which the
 whole court, which consisted of two hundred and
 eighty persons, including domestics, were lodged
 in the palace. When they had been there three
 days, a fire broke out at two o'clock in the morn-
 ing, which raged with great violence, and conti-
 nued several hours before it was extinguished. In
 the midst of the consternation occasioned by this
 accident, Bielfeld saw the king walking very com-

¹³⁹ Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 242, 243.

CHAP. posedly on the terrace; and going up to his ma-
 XI. jesty, Frederick said, "Well, it is a misfortune;
 A. D. " but, if nobody be hurt, no matter. The work-
 1747. " men of Berlin will be the better for it." The
 damage made by this fire was estimated at twenty-
 five thousand crowns. The king gave directions
 to M. Knobellstorf, who was then superintendant of
 his buildings, to put every thing, as nearly as pos-
 sible, into the same state in which it was before the
 fire. The court removed soon after to Orange-
 bourg, where a variety of entertainments were ex-
 hibited, which appear to have been under the par-
 ticular direction of the prince of Prussia¹⁹⁰.

THOUGH Frederick's administration of govern-
 ment naturally procured him, in many respects,
 the applause of his subjects, yet as he attended no
 place of public worship, kept much company with
 men whose sentiments relative to religion were
 known to be licentious, and on topics of that kind
 sometimes sufficiently manifested his own sceptical
 principles, reflexions against him on this account
 were occasionally thrown out by some of the clergy.
 One instance of this is related by Voltaire, who
 also gives a ludicrous account of the king's beha-
 viour on the occasion. The clergyman of a vil-
 lage near Stettin, in a sermon upon Herod, had
 made use of some expressions, by which it was un-
 derstood, that he intended to reflect upon the king.
 'He was, therefore, summoned,' says Voltaire, 'to

¹⁹⁰ Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 244, 245, 247, 248.

'appear before the consistory at Potsdam; though
 'there was, in reality, no more a consistory at
 'court, than there was a mass. The poor man
 'came. The king put on a gown and band. M.
 'D'Argens, author of the Jewish Letters, and ba-
 'ron Pollnitz, who had changed his religion three
 'or four times, dressed themselves up in the same
 'manner. A folio volume of Bayle's Dictionary
 'was placed upon the table instead of a Bible, and
 'the culprit was introduced by two grenadiers, and
 'set before these three ministers of the gospel.
 "My brother," said the king, "I demand of you,
 "in the name of God, who that Herod was, con-
 "cerning whom you preached?" "He who slew
 "the children," replied the simple priest. "But
 "was that Herod the first?" said the king; "for
 "you ought to know there have been several He-
 "rods." The village priest was silent: he could
 'not answer this question. "How," continued
 'the king, "have you dared to preach about He-
 "rod, and are ignorant both of him and his fa-
 "mily! We shall pardon you for this time, but
 "know, that we shall excommunicate you, if ever
 "hereafter you should dare to preach against any
 "one whom you do not know." They then de-
 'livered his sentence and pardon to him, signed
 'by three ridiculous names, invented on purpose.
 "We shall go to-morrow to Berlin," added the
 'king; "and we will solicit forgiveness for you

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CHAP. " of our brotherhood. Do not fail to come and
 XI. " find us out." Accordingly the priest went to
 A. D. " Berlin, to seek for these three ministers of the
 1747. ' gospel; but he was only laughed at; and the
 ' king, who had more humour than liberality, for-
 ' got to reimburse him for the expences of his
 ' journey '91.'

191. Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, edit.
 Lond. 1784. p. 81, 82, 83.

C H A P. XII.

Frederick appoints M. Bielfeld superintendant of all the universities in his dominions.—The king's attention to the interests of his subjects, and the embellishment of his capital.—He maintains the right of his subjects to navigate the seas, without interruption from other powers at war.—His representations on that subject to the States-general, and to the court of Great Britain.—Contest between the king of Prussia and his Britannick majesty, concerning the property of East Friesland.—Frederick interposes in the disputes between the courts of Russia and Sweden.—He receives a visit from mareschal Saxe at Potsdam.

IN the course of the year 1747, the king of Prussia conferred on M. BIELFELD [D] the office of superintendant of all the universities in his dominions ¹⁹². These were HALLE in Saxony, CHAP.
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FRANCK-

[D] Baron BIELFELD was born at Hamburg, in the year 1711. Some of his earlier years were spent at Leyden; and in 1738, he became acquainted with the prince-royal of Prussia. He soon after entered into the prince's service, and resided with him at Rheinsberg; and, after his accession, was made secretary of legation, and attended count Troughses in his embassy to the king of Great Britain. In 1741, he attended the king of Prussia in Silesia; and the same year he translated into the Ger-

¹⁹² Lettres de Bielfeld, tom. II. p. 253, 254.

CHAP. FRANCKFORT on the Oder, KONIGSBERG in Prussia,
 XII. DUYSBOURG, and LINGEN. And on the king's
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man language Montesquieu's treatise on the causes of the grandeur and declension of the Romans. In 1745, he was appointed preceptor to prince Ferdinand, the king's youngest brother; and besides his office of superintendant of all the universities in the Prussian dominions, he was also made director of the hospital of Berlin, and had occasionally the management of the theatres. He married a lady of Halle in Saxony, who was possessed of a large fortune, in 1748; and it was then that the king of Prussia conferred on him the dignity of a baron; after which he took a large house at Berlin, and resided there some years. But in 1755, he quitted the Prussian court, and went to reside at Treben, a pleasant country seat, near Altenburgh, in Saxony. Here he passed his time in an agreeable retirement, till the ravages of war compelled him to leave his house, and to take shelter in Hamburgh; for that, he observed, was then almost the only place in Germany, to which the war was not extended.

In 1759, baron Bielfeld published his *Political Institutes*, in two volumes, 4to. at the Hague. In the first of these volumes the author treats of every thing that regards domestic polity, and the regulations necessary to the peace, prosperity, and internal security of a state. In the second, he treats entirely of foreign affairs, the comparative strength and greatness of different nations, their alliances, and the most material circumstances relating to their administration both in peace and war. Some parts of this work, as may easily be conceived from the baron's connections, were not very consonant to just sentiments of political freedom. Among others, to whom he sent copies of his work, one was Voltaire, who, before he had read the book, sent him a letter returning him thanks for it, in which is the following passage: 'Teach princes to do justice. That will be a consolation to those who are liable to suffer from their ambition, from their caprices, from their injustice, and from

birth-day, this year, a panegyric was pronounced
 by M. MAUPERTUIS, as president, in the royal
 academy,

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‘from their wickedness. Mankind love to hear of the law of
 nations. They are like the sick, to whom men talk of an
 universal remedy. Have you not said something about Li-
 berty? I imagine you enjoy it to your wish at Hamburg.
 For my own part, I enjoy it effectually; and have, for these
 six years past, been completely inebriated with the enjoyment.
 I am in the possession of free lands on the borders of France,
 and find myself in a state of perfect independency. Do you
 not remember the time when you were not permitted to go
 to your own estate? That was certainly contrary to the law
 of nations.’

When peace was concluded, baron Bielfeld returned again to
 his country-seat near Altenburgh; and in 1763, were published,
 at the Hague, in two volumes, 12mo. *Lettres familières et autres,
 de Monsieur le Baron de Bielfeld*. These letters were afterwards
 published in German, and in English, and have been frequently
 referred to in the course of this work. They are extremely en-
 tertaining, and are very agreeably written; but there are some
 errors in the dates, and a few other inaccuracies. In 1768, he
 also published, in two volumes, 8vo. at Leyden, *Amusemens
 Dramatiques*; a collection of comedies, in which the manners
 of the German courts seem to be very justly delineated. He
 was likewise author of ‘The Elements of Universal Erudition,
 containing an analytical abridgment of the sciences, polite
 arts, and belles lettres:’ of which an English translation was
 published, in three volumes, 8vo. by Dr. Hooper, in the year
 1770. In the preface to this work, the baron says, ‘After la-
 bouring for many years amidst the great world, I am con-
 vinced, that all is vanity; and that at a certain period of life,
 the greatest happiness which a man can aspire after, consists
 in living for himself, for a few real friends, for the muses,
 and for the comforts of retirement.’

Baron

CHAP. academy, on FREDERICK, and on his attention to
 XII. literature, science, the arts, and the general inter-
 A. D. ests
 1747.

Baron Bielfeld died at Altenburgh in the year 1770, aged fifty-nine. He had several children by his wife, who died some time before him; but only two of his sons seem to have survived him. He appears to have been a man of amiable character and manners, and had a much greater aversion to war than his royal master. In one of his letters, dated from Treben, Sept. 20, 1756, speaking of some Prussian troops who were arrived in that neighbourhood, he says, 'It is reported, that these military gentry are going against Dresden; but it seems uncertain whether they will enter Saxony or Bohemia. God grant that they may go far from hence! for the sound of war is so hateful to my ears, that I would fly to the uttermost parts of the earth to avoid it.' In another letter he says, 'What a horrible evil is war! If it procures to heroes an opportunity of adorning their brows with laurels, those laurels are constantly stained with human blood, which in my eyes tarnishes all their lustre: and in what distressful situations are many peaceable citizens placed in consequence of it! If I were to make a dictionary, I think I should not allow the word *war* any place in it.' And, in a third letter, the baron makes the following observations: 'If men were born tigers, if their subsistence depended upon their murderous exploits, if they were compelled to kill, and to destroy each other, for their wants, and for their mutual advantage, then I should find a considerable degree of merit in warlike qualities, and a hero would appear in my eyes a very reasonable being. But as Divine Providence has dispensed to the whole human race, all that is necessary to the support and sustenance of every man; and as reason, the law of nature, and the positive laws of different nations, have granted a portion of these goods to every individual of society; so that no man can, strictly speaking, be said to die for want; and as the abundance of

ests of his kingdom¹⁹¹. To all these objects the king, indeed, paid great regard; as he did also to manufactures, commerce, and agriculture. He likewise employed much pains and expence in embellishing BERLIN and POTSDAM, in both which places many new streets were built, and very handsome edifices erected, under his own immediate direction.

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AMONG other measures which Frederick adopted for the benefit of his subjects, one was, maintain-

'the necessaries of life depends on the intercourse of mankind, and the calm of peace, it seems matter of astonishment to me, that peace is not regarded as inviolable, that war should ever take place among men, and that the military profession should not be banished from the earth. The more I think upon the subject, the less am I able to discover, that natural dispositions, or acquired talents, for killing and exterminating our fellow creatures, are to be considered as estimable qualities; or that what the folly of mankind has decorated with the specious names of valour, and of heroism, has any just claim to honour or applause. The whole is a kind of illusion, with which the great deceive the inferior classes of mankind, in order to make them serve as the instruments of their passions, and especially of their ambition.'—'What sight can be more horrid, than that of a country ravaged by war! where nothing is to be seen but fire and sword, terror, confusion, despair, and death. What sight, on the contrary, can be more pleasing, than that of a country which is the residence of peace; where every citizen enjoys the fruit of his labours, where all talents are employed and encouraged, where arts, sciences, and commerce flourish, and where the calm delights of social life are enjoyed with cheerfulness and innocence.'

¹⁹¹ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. III. p. 271, &c.

ing,

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ing, with great firmness, their right to navigate the seas, without interruption from other powers at war: and hence he is considered, by count Hertzberg ¹⁹⁴, as the first author of that system of armed maritime neutrality, which has since been asserted by other nations. A memorial was presented on this subject to the States-general, by M. Ammon, his Prussian majesty's ambassador at the Hague, on the eleventh of December, 1747; in which he required of their high mightinesses, that they should give positive and strict orders to their subjects, not to molest the ships of his Prussian majesty's subjects, on pretence of visiting them, or upon any pretext whatsoever; but to let them proceed freely on their voyages, on the bare exhibition of the passports and papers, which captains of men of war and privateers were authorized to demand at sea ¹⁹⁵. On the 8th of January following, a memorial was presented, by the Prussian resident in London, to the earl of Chesterfield, then secretary of state, in which it was observed, that his Prussian majesty had just reason to expect, from the declarations made by his Britannick majesty's ministers, that respect would have been paid to his flag, during the war which then subsisted between Great Britain, France, and Spain; but that, on the contrary, though his Prussian majesty's subjects had

¹⁹⁴ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année de la vie, &c. p. 16.

¹⁹⁵ Gent. Mag. vol. XVII. p. 569, 570.

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never deviated from the regulations of the commerce allowed to neutral nations, yet the English men of war, or privateers, had unjustly taken Prussian vessels, several of which were detained in the ports of England. His majesty, therefore, required, that the commanders of English men of war, and privateers, might be enjoined, under severe penalties, to respect his flag, and to leave navigation free to the vessels of his subjects, without troubling or molesting them under pretext of search or visit, and content themselves with the bare exhibition of the passports and other papers, of which captains of men of war, and privateers, were authorized by custom to demand the inspection. A reply to this memorial was returned by the earl of Chesterfield, in which his lordship observed, that his Britannick majesty never intended to occasion the least obstruction to the navigation of the subjects of the king of Prussia, so long as they carried on their trade in a lawful manner, and conformably to the ancient usage established and acknowledged among neutral powers. But his Prussian majesty could not but know, that there were treaties of commerce actually subsisting between Great Britain and certain neutral states; and that, by means of the engagements formerly contracted on both sides, every thing relative to their reciprocal trade was fully stated and regulated. At the same time it did not appear, that any treaty of that nature existed at present, or ever did exist, between his Britannick

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tannick majesty and the king of Prussia; though that had never hindered the Prussian subjects from being favoured in England, with respect to their navigation, as much as other neutral nations. This being the case, his Britannick majesty took it for granted, that the intention of the king of Prussia could not be to require him to make distinctions, or to give a preference to the Prussian subjects. His Prussian majesty, it was added, was also too well acquainted with affairs in general, not to know, that there were established laws in the government of England, which could not be departed from; and that if it even should so happen, that the English ships should take upon them to do any injustice to the trading subjects of the king of Prussia, there was a tribunal in England, the high court of Admiralty, to which they had a right to apply, and to make their complaints. The judicial proceedings of that court, it was farther said, had been irreproachable, and without blemish; as was manifest from several examples, wherein neutral ships, unlawfully taken, had been restored to the proprietors with costs and damages ¹⁹⁶. But this answer was not satisfactory to the king of Prussia, who afterwards repeated his demand, and adopted other measures, in order to secure a free navigation to his subjects.

WHEN plenipotentiaries were sent from the different powers at war to Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748,

¹⁹⁶ Lond. Mag. for 1748, p. 39.

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in order to treat of a general peace, the king of Prussia also sent there M. Ammon, as his minister ; and he obtained the guarantee of all the contracting powers to his Prussian majesty's possession of Silesia ¹⁹⁷. But some time after a dispute took place, between his Britannick majesty and the king of Prussia, concerning the property of East Friesland. Frederick had entered upon it, as heir to the last possessor, and received the investiture from the elector of Bavaria. But the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, had pretensions to the same inheritance ; and, therefore, his minister delivered a memorial to the diet of the empire, assembled at Ratisbon, demanding that the king of Prussia, as elector of Brandenburg, should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council, in regard to his claim to the estates of East Friesland. It was accordingly determined by the electoral college, that the dispute should be referred to the decision of the Aulic council. But Frederick, being already in possession, refused to submit his claim to the determination of that, or any other tribunal. Several other memorials were afterwards published by both the parties ; but the king of Great Britain at length gave up the point in dispute between him and his nephew, with whom he was unwilling to have any farther contest.

¹⁹⁷ Memoire Historique, par le comte de Hertzberg, ut supra, p. 16, 17.

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THOUGH peace was now re-established between the different powers of Europe, yet, in the year 1749, apprehensions were entertained, that the public tranquillity would be again disturbed, by a rupture between Russia and Sweden. The preceding year a treaty of alliance had been concluded between the king of Sweden and the king of Prussia, in which the court of France had concurred; and it was given out by the court of Petersburg, that the czarina had obtained information, that a scheme was formed, after the death of the present king of Sweden, who was far advanced in age, and in a declining state of health, to change the present form of government, and to invest the prince his successor, who was married to a sister of the king of Prussia, with despotic power. The empress of Russia professed to be of opinion, that if the king of Sweden should thus be possessed of arbitrary power, and be guided by the councils of France and Prussia, he might become a very troublesome and dangerous neighbour to her in the Baltick¹⁹⁸. Reports were, indeed, propagated, that the king of Prussia had formed a scheme of making a revolution in the state of the North, by recovering to Sweden the provinces now possessed by the Russians; and that as a compensation to him for his assistance to the Swedes, Swedish Pomerania, and the isle of Rugen, were to be given up to him,

¹⁹⁸ Smollet's Hist. of England from the Revolution, published as a Continuation of Hume, vol. III. p. 249.

when

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when Livonia should be recovered from the Russians¹⁹⁹. Whatever there might be in these reports, the Russian minister at Stockholm delivered a memorial to that court, in which it was observed, that a general rumour prevailed of a design to change, after the king's death, the present form of government in Sweden. Her imperial majesty, it was said, was desirous to live in a good understanding with the neighbouring powers, particularly with the crown of Sweden; but if there was a design to change the present form of government, and thereby to endanger the tranquility of the North, her imperial majesty could not dispense with herself from taking cognizance of an affair of such consequence to all the Northern powers. She was the rather obliged to do this, because it had been expressly stipulated, in an article of the treaty of peace concluded at Nystadt, that Russia should endeavour, by all possible means, to prevent any alteration whatsoever in the form of government, which had been universally approved and sworn to by the states of Sweden. As this article had been confirmed by all the treaties since signed with Sweden, her imperial majesty of all the Russias could not behold with indifference, or permit, an alteration to be made in the government of Sweden; but, on the contrary, would find herself under a necessity to take the most proper measures for the

¹⁹⁹ Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 94.

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preservation of the tranquility of the North²⁰⁰. The empress of Russia also recruited her armies, repaired her fortifications, and ordered a strong body of forces to advance towards the frontiers of Finland; and the Russian minister then delivered another memorial to the court of Stockholm, in which it was stated, that the empress of Russia being determined to maintain the form of government, in the manner in which it was at present established in Sweden, and of which her imperial majesty was guarantee, she should cause her troops to enter Finland, lest any measure should be adopted, on the death of the reigning king, to change the present constitution of Sweden. But the Russian troops, it was added, were to continue in Finland on the footing of friends; and they were to observe an exact discipline, and to live entirely at their own expence, till such time as the new king of Sweden was proclaimed, and he had made assurance by oath, that he would maintain the present form of the government, and observe its treaties²⁰¹. It was replied on the part of the court of Stockholm, that the prince, successor to the throne of Sweden, had already given public and sufficient assurances, that his royal highness would not swerve or depart from his agreements, or ever undertake any thing to the least prejudice of the rights and liberties of the kingdom. But that if, notwithstanding all these solemn assurances, the empress

²⁰⁰ London Mag. for 1749, p. 166.²⁰¹ Ibid. p. 483.

of Russia should persist, on any pretence whatsoever, in the intention of making her troops pass the frontiers of Finland, his Swedish majesty could not otherwise regard such a step, than as an act of hostility, and an open rupture; and he should consider himself as justly authorized to employ the means, which God had put into his power, for the defence of his dominions ²⁰².

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THE king of Prussia now began openly to oppose the proceedings of the empress of Russia with regard to Sweden. He declared, that he considered peace and union, among the princes of Europe, as the greatest happiness to which they could aspire; and he had, therefore, greatly rejoiced, to see the foundations of it laid at Aix-la-Chapelle, by the contracting parties in the late treaty of peace. There was nothing, he said, wanting, in order to render this happiness universal, but the dispersion of the clouds which seemed to be gathering in the North. He had endeavoured to prevent their effects; but those clouds were still lowring, and the extraordinary movements made in the dominions of some neighbouring powers, the armaments and preparations which they were carrying on, sufficiently proved that those powers were filled with great apprehensions respecting the interruption of the public tranquillity. In such a state of things, the king thought it necessary that he should put his army in a condition to act, in order to keep at

²⁰² London Mag. for the year 1749, p. 483.

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a distance all those unforeseen dangers, which might disturb the repose of his faithful subjects ²⁰³. After making this public declaration, the king of Prussia also wrote a letter to his uncle, the king of Great Britain, in which he observed to him, that his Britannick majesty's interest and his own were the same with regard to the tranquility of the North; and, therefore, he hoped that his Britannick majesty would concur with him, in adopting such measures as were necessary for the preservation of peace. He complained of the threatenings that had been thrown out by the court of Petersburgh against Sweden, and took notice of the suspicions that were entertained of the designs of the Swedish court, which he stated to be ill grounded. Of the dangerous projects which had been imputed to Sweden against her neighbours, he remarked, that his Britannick majesty's "discernment was too quick, not to "perceive the falsity of it at the very first glance;" and with respect to the supposed design of changing the present form of government in Sweden, he thought that the declaration lately made on that subject, by the prince successor and the senate, was sufficiently satisfactory. He observed farther, that he had lately made a defensive alliance with Sweden, to which France had acceded; but that alliance, he said, did not turn upon innovations. It obliged, however, both the court of France, and himself, to maintain the succession established in Sweden,

²⁰³ London Mag. for 1749, p. 143.

and mutually to defend themselves against any that would attack them. He besought his Britannick majesty to employ his credit and good offices, in order to bring Russia and Sweden to such eclairsissements, as might prove equally salutary to both; and he was, he said, persuaded, that his most Christian majesty, who had the peace of Europe, and the tranquility of the North, as much at heart as their Britannick and Prussian majesties, would powerfully contribute to maintain it by uniting his efforts with theirs ²⁰⁴. An ambassador extraordinary was afterwards sent to Peterburgh from the king of Great Britain, who declared to the empress's minister, that in case of a rupture between Russia and Sweden, occasioned by the hostilities commenced by the former power, his Britannick majesty would consider Russia as the aggressor, and the empress could not expect that he should supply her with the succours, which he was engaged by treaty to furnish for her defence, in case she should be attacked. The ministers of France and Prussia also gave the empress to understand, that they should punctually fulfil their engagements with the court of Stockholm, if the Russian troops should enter the Swedish territories of Finland. After some farther representations, the empress declared herself satisfied with respect to Sweden; but she was extremely displeased with the conduct of the king of Prussia on this occasion, and with the style of

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²⁰⁴ Gent, Mag, vol. XIX. p. 174, 175.

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his memorials; and from this time the czarina, and her ministers, appear to have conceived a great and lasting animosity against him.

IF a design was really formed at this time to deprive the Swedes of their liberties, which is not improbable, the scheme appears to have been frustrated by the interposition of Russia, and the vigilance of the Swedish senate; and, perhaps, partly by the temper of the prince successor, who, though he might be prevailed upon to engage in such a project, seems to have been of too mild a temper to prosecute it with firmness. But a similar scheme has since been successfully put in execution, by a son of the then prince-royal of Sweden, and of Ulrica, sister to the king of Prussia; and the form of government which is now established in Sweden is in a very high degree despotic [E]. It appears

[E] Mr. COXE has endeavoured to shew, that the present government of Sweden is not despotic, and that "his Swedish majesty, though now possessed of very great prerogatives, is "yet in many important instances a limited monarch." *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, &c.* vol. II. p. 369. But the reasonings of this ingenious writer upon this subject appear to me to be extremely unsatisfactory; and I cannot, with him, applaud "the judicious and spirited conduct of his present majesty" of Sweden, in the revolution of 1772. On the contrary, by that transaction, the liberties of the Swedish nation, which the king had sworn in the most solemn manner to maintain, were so completely over-turned, that, in my apprehension, it deserves to be spoken of in terms very different from those of approbation and applause. It is true, that there are some

appears extremely unfavourable to the interests of
 free states, that their princes should intermarry in
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some limitations of the power of the king stated, in the articles of the present Swedish constitution; but these limitations are more in form, than in reality. The king of Sweden, Mr. Coxe observes, can make no new laws by his own authority, as the constitution now stands; but if he cannot make new laws, the Swedes have no security against his acting without law. He is not to levy new taxes without convening the states, and obtaining their consent; but the present taxes are made perpetual, he enjoys a fixed revenue, and has the entire disposal of the public money; and if the country be invaded, he may levy new taxes by his own authority.

Few governments, excepting those in the East, are possessed of power so entirely unlimited, as Mr. Coxe supposes that of Sweden should, in order to give it a just title to the denomination of despotic. Upon an accurate inquiry it will be found, that there are some limitations of the power of the prince even in France and in Turkey. But the king of Sweden, by the present constitution, has the sole power of convening and dissolving the states, and is not obliged to assemble them at any stated period; and he has the entire disposal of the army, the navy, and of all employments civil and military. By the new constitution a senate is, indeed, appointed, consisting of seventeen members, comprehending the great officers of the crown, and the governor of Pomerania; and they are required to give their advice in all the affairs of the state, WHENEVER THE KING SHALL DEMAND IT. But though they are obliged to give their advice, he is not obliged to follow it, unless it be agreeable to his own inclinations. In some few instances, however, in the negotiations of peace, truces, and alliances, the king is bound to follow the opinion of the senators, in case they are unanimous. But, as Mr. Coxe himself observes, "as it is scarcely possible that seventeen senators, appointed, and re-
 " movable

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the families of despotic monarchs. Such connections tend too much to increase that propensity to aggrandize their power, which is natural to princes. The influence of wives, and of mothers, is well known to be considerable; and such marriages may afford plausible pretexts to despotic sovereigns, to interfere in contests between free states and their princes; which is not often likely to prove beneficial to the rights of mankind.

“movable, by his majesty, should be unanimous in their opinion to him, we may fairly allow the king to have the command of the senate.”

Mr. Coxe, however, supposes, that as the Swedish constitution now stands, “emergencies must occur, which may render it necessary to convene” the assembly of the states. But these emergencies may occur very seldom; and, when they do, be productive of very little effect. As the present king, since the revolution of 1772, assembles the states only when he pleases, he was near six years, after that event, before he assembled them again. They then began to make some opposition to his administration. What was the result? He summoned the states to the palace, made them a speech, dissolved them, and they have not been suffered to assemble since.

Under such a form of government, no real constitutional freedom can be enjoyed by the subjects of it; and, therefore, notwithstanding the apparent limitations of the power of the king, the present government of Sweden may justly be considered as in a high degree despotic. The former constitution of the Swedish government had in it considerable defects; but it is greatly to be regretted, that a brave and respectable nation, as the Swedes are, should not have found means to remedy those defects, without submitting to such an exorbitant extension of the power of their prince, as has scarcely left them even the shadow of liberty.

IN

IN the year 1749, the celebrated mareschal count de SAXE paid a visit to the king of Prussia at Potsdam. The merits of this great general were well known to Frederick, who received him with all the honours due to his rank and military talents, and expressed great satisfaction at having so illustrious a visiter. Count Algarotti, who was at Potsdam at the time, speaking of the interview between the king and the mareschal, says, "It put us in mind of the meeting of SCIPIO and HANNIBAL ²⁰⁵." Frederick exercised some of his troops before count Saxe, and was particularly solicitous to exhibit the excellencies of his cavalry, which had been trained and greatly improved under his own directions [F].

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²⁰⁵ Letters military and political, p. 19.

[F] The Prussian cavalry had been greatly improved by the attention and care of general SEIDLITZ, who was a brave, experienced, and skilful officer; but much of their excellence they derived from the king himself, and from improvements in their discipline and exercise which he suggested. Count Algarotti informs us, that, among other refinements in discipline, it was one day proposed to some of the cavalry officers, of the most consummate skill in their profession, to march a large body of horse towards an enemy quite in a new manner. The enemy were to be supposed in fight, but a little either to the right or to the left. The common method is, to wheel a quarter of a circle, and march straight forward; then, as soon as they are in a line with him, to wheel another quarter of a circle, and again march forward. These frequent wheelings, and exposing the flanks to the enemy, did not please the king. He wanted them to march obliquely, to cross over the shortest way towards the enemy, and, what is of the utmost consequence, not to shew their

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‘He manœuvred,’ says Algarotti, ‘the squadron
 ‘of guards before the count, which, at one time,
 ‘drawn up close, exhibited the appearance of a
 ‘rock; at another, that of a cloud, scattered along
 ‘the plain.’—‘The beauty of it was, that, in the
 ‘charge on full gallop, one horse’s head was not a
 ‘foot beyond another. The line was so exactly
 ‘straight, that Euclid himself could not have found
 ‘fault with it ²⁰⁶.’—‘The count observing the
 ‘regularity and spirit, the agility and steadiness, of
 ‘the manœuvres of the Prussian cavalry, could not
 ‘restrain himself from paying several compliments

their flank to him. This being proposed to some old officers, it did not meet with their approbation. Why? Because, they said, it was a thing that had never either been done, or thought of. “It has been thought of,” said the king, “and it shall be done.” The horsemen, it was said, must all be taken to the riding-school, and drilled for the purpose. “They shall,” said the king. It was then added, that the horses must be drilled too. “So shall the horses,” replied Frederick. It was then observed, that several would get broken limbs before they would be able to perform this manœuvre. “What signifies that,” said the king, “if it should be the means of gaining a victory?”—‘The experiment was tried,’ says Algarotti, ‘first with a few, afterwards with a larger number; and succeeded so well, that, not long after, I saw several squadrons traverse a piece of ground, that was none of the smoothest, with as much ease as a Spanish *genet* would caper from one side of the riding-school to the other.’ *Letters military and political*, p. 224, 225.

²⁰⁶ Letters military and political, p. 5, 6.

‘to its institutor; which could not have been very
‘displeasing to him ²⁰⁷.’

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MARESCHAL SAXE continued some time at
Potfdam; and, during his stay there, the king and
he met at least twice a day, at dinner and supper,
in the palace of SANS-SOUCI. Frederick some-
times used to send for his guest, and his train, in
open carriages, beautifully ornamented; upon
which it was remarked, that the king had judged
rightly, in putting the mareschal and his train into
triumphal chariots. In answer to this observation,
it was replied by the count de Frize, who was one
of the mareschal’s train, “We are greatly obliged
“to his majesty; but, happily, we are in a place
“where those chariots are in plenty ²⁰⁸.”

Count Algarotti says, ‘I have often heard the
‘king and the mareschal discourse on military
‘topics, at the entertainments given by his majesty,
‘where I might be said *epulis accumbere divum*, and
‘seemed to be attending at Petrarch’s TRIMPH OF
‘FAME. The most eminent commanders passed in
‘review before them; and I may say, with truth,
‘that their merits were very nicely scrutinized.
‘They sometimes discussed the different orders of
‘battle; among which they did not forget the
‘COLUMN. They agreed, as far as I can remem-
‘ber, that such an order was rather calculated for
‘defence, than for acting offensively; that the only
‘occasion on which it can attack, with any prospect

²⁰⁷ Letters military and political, p. 19. ²⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 20.

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‘ of success, is when the enemy is entrenched, as
 ‘ experience has frequently demonstrated. The
 ‘ strength of the column consisting in its bulk and
 ‘ solidity, in its weight and shock, it breaks through
 ‘ whatever stands in its way; and the enemy, who
 ‘ waits its attack in the trenches, gives it an oppor-
 ‘ tunity of acting with all its advantages. Having
 ‘ forced its way into one part or more of the enemy’s
 ‘ lines, it divides them into two or more bodies,
 ‘ and prevents them from joining or supporting each
 ‘ other: but, when engaged in the open field, which
 ‘ will oftener happen, the column, on account of
 ‘ its small extent in front, may be surrounded by the
 ‘ light-armed troops, and inclosed like the wedge
 ‘ of the antients, falling into the *forceps*. Though
 ‘ surrounded, it can, indeed, make head on all
 ‘ sides, and defend itself admirably; but yet it loses
 ‘ the advantage of attacking, which should always
 ‘ be the object of a commander, when his force
 ‘ will admit of it.’—‘ From all which, the count
 ‘ concluded, that his friend FOLARD [G] was wrong,
 ‘ in thinking the column the most perfect and
 ‘ successful military order in all cases, and in every
 ‘ situation.’ “ But he was not wrong,” said the
 king, “ in his prognostic respecting count SAXE,

[G] Count SAXE had received instructions in the military art from the chevalier FOLARD, celebrated for his treatises on the art of war, who had predicted the future eminence of his pupil.

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"when in the defender of Crachnick he foresaw
"the conqueror of Flanders ²⁰⁹."

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WHEN marechal Saxe departed from Potsdam, the king, at taking leave of him, presented him with his picture, and a snuff box, richly set with diamonds ²¹⁰. This great general, who was in full health at the time of his visiting the king of Prussia, and possessed of a very robust constitution, lived only to the next year. He was carried off, by a putrid fever, after an illness of nine days, on the 30th of November, 1750, in the fifty-fifth year of his age. The French king sent M. De Senac, his first physician, to attend him in his illness. That gentleman was greatly attached to count SAXE, and had followed him in four campaigns. The marechal met death with the utmost fortitude; but said to his friend the physician, just before he expired, DOCTOR, LIFE IS BUT A DREAM; MINE HAS BEEN A FINE ONE, BUT IT HAS BEEN SHORT ²¹¹.

²⁰⁹ Letters military and political, p. 21, 23.

²¹⁰ Gent. Mag. vol. XIX. p. 334.

²¹¹ Monthly Review, vol. LI. p. 515.

C H A P.

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Repeated applications made by the king of Prussia to Voltaire, to induce him to quit France, and reside at the court of Berlin.—Voltaire's arrival, and reception.—Diversions and entertainments at the Prussian court.—Frederick's mode of living at this period.—Description of the palace of Sans Souci.—Methods adopted by the king for increasing the population of his dominions.

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THE king of Prussia, from the beginning of his reign, had been extremely desirous to prevail on VOLTAIRE to quit France, and to settle in his dominions. He paid the king several visits, and was extremely carested by him, but could not be induced to continue with him. Voltaire then chiefly resided with the marchioness DU CHATELET, a lady of extraordinary accomplishments, and of whom he has given the following account: ‘The marchioness du Chatelet, of all the women in France, had a mind the most capable of the different branches of science. Her father, the baron de Breteuil, had taught her Latin, which she understood as perfectly as madame Dacier. She knew by heart the most beautiful passages of Horace, Virgil, and Lucretius. All the philosophical works of Cicero were familiar to her. Her prevailing taste was for mathematics and for metaphysics. Seldom has there been united, in the same person, so much justness of discernment,

‘ and

and elegance of taste, with so ardent a desire of information. But, notwithstanding her love of literature, she was not the less fond of the world, and of those amusements which were adapted to her age and sex. She determined, however, to quit them all, and to go and bury herself in an old ruinous chateau, upon the borders of Champagne and Lorraine, and situated in a barren and unhealthy soil. This old chateau she ornamented, and embellished with agreeable gardens. I built a gallery, and provided a fine apparatus for philosophical experiments. We had also a numerous library.—‘I taught the English language to madame du Chatelet, who, in about three months, understood it as well as I did, and read Newton, Locke, and Pope, with the same ease. She learned Italian also with equal expedition. We read all the works of Tasso and Ariosto together.’—‘At Cirey we cultivated all the arts. It was there I composed *Alzira*, *Merope*, the *Prodigal Son*, and *Mahomet*. It was for her use I wrote an *Essay on Universal History*, from the age of Charlemagne to the present ¹¹².’

In one of Voltaire's letters to the king of Prussia, in answer to one pressing him to come and reside at his court, he agreed to pay him a visit; but ‘I gave him to understand,’ says he, ‘that I could not come to stay with him; that I considered it

¹¹² *Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même*, Lond. 1784, p. 2, 3, 4, 7.

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XIII. ' was attached to madame du Chatelet; and that,
A. D. ' between philosophers, I loved a lady better than a
1750. ' king. He approved of the liberty I took, though,
' for his own part, he did not love the ladies ²¹³.

THE marchioness du Chatelet died at Luneville, the palace of king Stanislaus, whither Voltaire had accompanied her, in the year 1749; and, after that event, the king of Prussia renewed his solicitations to him, to come and reside at his court. Voltaire, however, went first to Paris, and started some objections against quitting France for Prussia. One of his objections was against the climate of Berlin, which he alleged to be rigorous and intemperate. Algarotti, D'Argens, and La Méttrie, were desired by the king to write to him, to remove his apprehensions upon that head. Darget, who was a Frenchman, and then the king's secretary, added to their letters a certificate in verse, which was accompanied by two melons, gathered in the month of June, in the gardens of Potsdam ²¹⁴. From Paris Voltaire went to Compeigne, where the French court then was; and, after a short stay there, resolved to proceed to the Prussian court. But he previously went to Holland, and from thence to Cleves. He had thrown out some in-

²¹³ Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même, Lond, 1784, p. 42, 43.

²¹⁴ Life of Voltaire, written by the marquis de Villette, and translated from the French by Mr. Monke, 8vo. 1787, p. 168.

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timations to the king of Prussia about the expences of his journey; and Frederick had ordered his banker at Paris to pay into his hands sixteen thousand livres to defray them. When he arrived at Cleves, M. Raesfeld, the Prussian resident there, had also orders to provide him with horses, and the king's carriages, to convey him to Berlin²¹⁵. Frederick received him with great joy; and insisted upon his living at Potsdam, in one of the finest apartments of the palace, and the same which had been occupied by marshal Saxe. The king provided him with a table and equipages; the royal cooks, and royal coachmen, were always at his command; and Darget, the king's secretary, was directed to take care, that he should want nothing that could render his life pleasant and agreeable²¹⁶.

SOME time after Voltaire's arrival at Potsdam, he received a letter from his niece, in which she strongly dissuaded him from continuing at the Prussian court. This letter was communicated to Frederick; and Voltaire himself also threw out some doubts, whether his felicity, and his freedom, would not be diminished by his continuing at Potsdam. This occasioned the king, who then resided in the upper apartments of the palace, over those of Voltaire, to send down to him the following letter, which was dated the twenty-third of August, 1750.

²¹⁵ Life of Voltaire, by the marquis de Villette, ut supra, p. 170.

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 171.

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‘ I have seen the letter which your niece wrote
‘ to you from Paris. The friendship that she ex-
‘ presses for you commands my esteem. I should
‘ think as she does, if I were madame Denis; but
‘ being what I am, I think otherwise. It would
‘ give me the most extreme concern, if I thought
‘ myself the cause of making my enemy wretched;
‘ and how then could I desire the unhappiness of a
‘ man, whom I esteem, whom I love, and who,
‘ for my sake, has given up his country, and what-
‘ ever has been thought dear among men? No,
‘ my dear Voltaire, if I could foresee that your
‘ continuing to live in this country, would turn in
‘ the smallest degree to your disadvantage, I should
‘ be the first to dissuade you from it. I should
‘ prefer your happiness to the extreme pleasure that
‘ I have in your company. But you are a philo-
‘ sopher, and so am I: what can be more natural,
‘ more simple, and more proper, than that those
‘ philosophers who were formed to live together,
‘ who are united by the same studies, the same
‘ taste, and the same manner of thinking, should
‘ give themselves that satisfaction? I respect you
‘ as my master in eloquence and in learning, and I
‘ love you as a virtuous friend. What slavery,
‘ what unhappiness, what change, what inconstancy
‘ of fortune, is to be dreaded in a country where
‘ you are as highly valued as in your own, and
‘ with a friend who has a grateful heart! I have
‘ not the foolish presumption to think Berlin equal

‘ to

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‘to Paris. If riches, grandeur, and magnificence,
‘make a city agreeable, Berlin must yield to Paris.
‘If there be a particular place to be found in the
‘world, where fine taste more generally prevails, I
‘know, and I allow that it is Paris. But do not
‘you carry that taste with you wherever you go?
‘We have powers sufficient to praise your merits,
‘and as to sentiment, we will not yield to any
‘country upon earth. I respected the friendship
‘which attached you to madame du Chatelet; but,
‘after her, I am one of your oldest friends. What!
‘because you consent to retire to my house, shall it
‘be said that this house will become your prison?
‘Shall I become your tyrant, because I am your
‘friend? I confess to you, that I do not under-
‘stand that logic; and I am firmly persuaded, that
‘you will be happy here as long as I live; that
‘you will be looked upon as the father of letters,
‘and of men of taste; and that you will find every
‘consolation in me, which a man of your merit
‘can expect from one who esteems him ²¹⁷.’

THIS letter seems to have determined Voltaire
to continue to reside at Potsdam. But he desired
the Prussian monarch, to ask the consent of the
French king to his quitting his own country, which
Frederick accordingly did by his minister at Ver-
sailles. Lewis XV. gave his consent, but with
some apparent reluctance and disgust. Frederick

²¹⁷ *Commentaire Historique sur les Oeuvres de l'Auteur de
la Henriade*, Basil, 1776, p. 54, 55, 56.

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now made Voltaire one of his chamberlains, conferred on him the order of merit, and gave him a contract, by which he bound himself to pay to him a pension of twenty thousand livres, or eight hundred guineas a year,

AFTER Voltaire's arrival, a variety of entertainments were exhibited at the Prussian court. Among others was a very splendid tournament, which was performed in the garden of the palace of Berlin, and the preparations for which were extremely magnificent. Opposite to the end of the course, a gallery was erected for the king, the queen, the queen dowager, the princes and princesses, and their attendants; and under it another for the princess Amelia, who was to distribute the prizes, and four judges, who were appointed to determine on whom the prizes should be conferred. On each side of the course was erected a spacious building, in the form of an amphitheatre; one of which was for the nobility, and the other for the magistrates and citizens of Berlin. The whole course was illuminated by several thousand lamps of different colours. The knights were divided into four squadrons; one of which represented the Romans, another the Carthaginians, a third the Greeks, and the fourth the Persians. These squadrons had for their leaders, the prince of Prussia, prince Henry, prince Ferdinand, and the margrave Charles. Each squadron consisted of sixteen knights; and before each went a great number of servants, in proper habits,

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habits, with led horses, and a full band of music, adapted to the nation they were designed to represent. 'The magnificence of these knights,' says Bielfeld, 'as well as their leaders, surpassed all description. On every side was seen the effulgence of silver, gold, brilliants, and other rich jewels of various colours; so that a more sumptuous appearance cannot possibly be imagined.— When they were drawn up in proper order, the signal was given; and the knights, as well as their leaders, contended for the prize with the utmost ardour, by running at the ring with their lances, and by attacking the head with their javelins, and their swords and pistols, with amazing vigour and dexterity. Mareschal Schwerin, mareschal Kalckstejn, mareschal Keith, and M. D'Arnimb, minister of state, were the judges, who determined the prizes, which the princess Amelia distributed²¹⁸.' Voltaire was so pleased with this entertainment, that he wrote on the spot the four following lines, which he presented to the princess:

*Jamais, dans la Grèce & dans Rome,
On ne vit de tels jeux, ni de plus dignes prix.
J'ai vu les Fils de Mars, sous les traits de Paris,
Et Venu qui donnoit la pomme²¹⁹.*

ABOUT this time Voltaire's tragedy of *ROME SAUVÉE* was also exhibited at the palace of Potsdam, and some of the characters were performed

²¹⁸ Letters, vol. II. p. 63, 64.

²¹⁹ Ibid. p. 65.

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by the Prussian princesses. At a rehearsal of this piece, some Prussian soldiers, who were selected to represent the Roman guards attendant on the senate, gave great offence to Voltaire by their manner of acting. They were well skilled in military manœuvres, but were very little acquainted with the evolutions of the theatre. Voltaire, who played Cicero, exclaimed aloud, and with an oath, that he had called for men, and they had sent him Germans. "The princesses," says the marquis de Villette, "burst out laughing, at the energy with which the Roman orator expressed his impatience in French."²²⁰

As the king of Prussia's mode of living, though in many respects it was very uniform, yet appears not to have been always exactly the same, it may not be improper here to give some account of the manner in which he passed his time, about that period of his life to which we are now arrived.

It was his general custom to rise at five o'clock in the morning, and sometimes earlier [H]. He commonly

²²⁰ Life of Voltaire, translated by Mr. Monke, p. 172, 173.

[H] The accounts given of his time of rising in the morning do not exactly agree. The writer of the *Observations on the military establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia*, says, "No thing can be more uniform than his private life. He constantly rises at four o'clock in the summer, and at five in the winter." P. 6. But Voltaire says, in his *Idée du Roi de Prusse*, "He rises every morning at five o'clock;" and in his *Memoirs*, "He rose at five in the summer, and six in the winter."

commonly dressed his hair himself, and seldom employed more than two minutes for that purpose. His boots were put on at his bed-side, for he scarcely ever wore shoes [1]. After he was dressed, the adjutant of

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"winter." The fact seems to have been, that in the earlier part of his life, and when Voltaire was with him, when he accustomed himself to suppers, he went to bed later, and rose later, than in the latter part of his life, when he wholly left off the practice of eating suppers. It is also said that latterly, when he had sometimes overslept himself, he appeared much chagrined, and gave positive orders to his servants, that however drowsy he might be, and however reluctant he might seem to rise, they should not suffer him to sleep after the clock had struck four.

[1] Voltaire says, 'If you want to know the royal ceremonies when the king rose, by whom he was attended, and what were the functions of his high almoner, his great chamberlain, the first gentleman of his bed-chamber, and his gentleman ushers, I answer, a single lacquey came to light his fire, dress, and shave him; though he partly dressed himself alone. His chamber was rather beautiful; a rich balustrade of silver, ornamented with little loves, of exceedingly good sculpture, seemed to form the alcove of the state-bed, the curtains of which were seen: but behind these curtains, instead of a bed, there was a library; and as to the royal-bed, it was composed of a stump bedstead, without sacking, but cross-corded, and a slight matras; the whole concealed by a screen. Marcus Aurelius and Julian, the two greatest men among the Romans, and apostles of the Stoics, lay not on a harder couch.' *Memoires de M. de Voltaire, écrits par lui-même*, p. 73. 74.

In another place Voltaire says, 'He dresses his hair himself, and does it very well. He never wears a night-cap, nor night-gown, nor slippers. He only wears an old greasy linen cloak to powder himself in. During the whole year, he wears the uniform of the first battalion of his guards, which is blue, faced

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of the first battalion of his guards brought him a list of all the persons that were arrived at Potsdam,

or

* faced with red, with silver brandeburghs; a plain yellow waist-coat; a hat with a white feather, and laced *de point d'Espagne*.
* He is the whole year in boots, for he cannot walk with shoes,
* nor wear his hat under his arm.' *Idée du Roi de Prusse, par M. de Voltaire*, 8vo. 1773, p. 7.

It has been said, that three times in the year he had a new suit of the uniform of the first battalion of his guards; and he sometimes had a splendid suit on extraordinary occasions. But, in the latter part of his life, he appears to have been much more frugal in the article of dress. One writer says, 'He is usually dressed in a plain suit of regimentals, and in boots. His uniform consists of a blue coat faced with red, and a yellow waist-coat and breeches. As he is a great œconomist in dress, his cloaths are commonly old and shabby; and he wears no other mark of distinction than the order of the black eagle. He is by no means nice about his boots, and he does not often allow himself a new pair; so that in general they are rather of a dirty brown, than of a black colour. Now and then, though very rarely, on grand festivals, he appears in an embroidered suit of blue velvet. This, with one, or, at the most, two suits of regimentals, constitutes the whole of his wardrobe. His hair is always cued, and carelessly twisted into a single buckle at the sides. He takes a great deal of Spanish snuff, and makes use of a large and very rich snuff box. I never saw a person make a more military appearance than this prince does on horseback; and it is easy, even through the negligence of his apparel, to distinguish the warrior.' *Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, with an account of his private life, &c.* written by an officer of distinction in the French service, who spent a considerable time in Prussia, published at Leipzig in 1778, and translated into English in 1780, p. 6.

When

or departed from thence, and an account of what-
 ever had occurred in the garrison. When he had
 delivered his orders to this officer, he retired into
 an inner cabinet, where he employed himself in
 private till seven o'clock. He then went into ano-

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When Dr. Moore was at Potsdam, he was shewn the apart-
 ments of the palace, and the king's wardrobe, of which he has
 given the following account. 'The palace at POTSDAM, or
 ' what they call the castle, is a very noble building, with magni-
 ' ficent gardens adjacent. I shall not trouble you with a de-
 ' scription of either: only it struck me as a thing rather un-
 ' common in a palace, to find the study by far the finest apart-
 ' ment in it. The ornaments of this are of massy silver. The
 ' writing-desk, the embellishments of the table, and the accom-
 ' modations for the books, were all in fine taste. The person
 ' who attended us, asked if we had any desire to see his majesty's
 ' wardrobe? On being answered in the affirmative, he conducted
 ' us to the chamber where his majesty's clothes are deposited.
 ' It had a very different appearance from his library. The
 ' whole wardrobe consisted of two blue coats, faced with red,
 ' the lining of one a little torn; two yellow waistcoats, a good
 ' deal soiled with Spanish snuff; three pair of yellow breeches,
 ' and a suit of blue velvet, embroidered with silver, for grand
 ' occasions. I imagined at first, that the man had got a few of
 ' the king's old clothes, and kept them here to amuse strangers;
 ' but, upon inquiry, I was assured, that what I have mention-
 ' ed, with two suits of uniform, which he has at Sans Souci,
 ' form the entire wardrobe of the king of Prussia. Our at-
 ' tendant said, he had never known it more compleat. As for
 ' the velvet suit, it was about ten years of age, and still enjoyed
 ' all the vigour of youth. Indeed, if the moths spared it as
 ' much as his majesty has done, it may last the age of Methusa-
 ' lem.' *View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland,*
and Germany, vol. II. p. 118, 119, 120, edit. 1786.

ther

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ther apartment, where he drank coffee, or chocolate; and here he found upon the table all the letters addressed to him from Potsdam, Berlin, or any other parts of his dominions. Foreign letters were placed upon a separate table. After reading all these letters, he wrote hints or notes in the margin of those which his secretaries were to answer; and then returning into the inner cabinet, carried with him such as he meant to write or dictate an answer to himself. Here he employed himself till nine o'clock with one of his private secretaries. He then returned back again into the former apartment, where he was attended by three secretaries, each of whom gave him an account of what he had done: after which the king delivered his orders to them, with the letters that they were to answer^{***}. None of these answers, however, were sent off, till they had been read, and many of them signed, by the king. At ten o'clock, the generals who were about his person, whom he was accustomed to send for in their turn, attended him in his closet, where he conversed with them on the news of the day, politics, tactics, and other subjects; and at this time he also gave audience to such persons as had received previous notice to attend. At eleven o'clock he mounted his horse, and rode to the parade, where he reviewed and exercised his regiment of guards; and "at the same hour," says Voltaire, "all the

^{***} Observations on the Military Establishment of the King of Prussia, with an account of his private life, &c. p. 6, 7, 8,

" colonels

"colonels did the same throughout the provinces." CHAP.
 He afterwards walked for some time in the garden, XIII.
 with his generals, and the rest of the company A. D.
 whom he had invited to dine with him. At one 1751.

o'clock he sat down to dinner, and his company generally consisted of the princes his brothers, some of his general officers, some of the officers of his regiment of guards, and one or two of his chamberlains. He had no carver, but did the honours of the table himself, like a private gentleman. His table generally consisted of twenty-four covers [κ];

and

[κ] Voltaire says, "The kitchen expence of his table is settled at thirty-three German dollars a day; (or about five English guineas.) For that sum he has twenty-four dishes every day, sixteen at dinner, and eight at supper. No more than twenty-four covers are ever laid at noon, and eight at night, unless upon some extraordinary occasion. If there are more than twenty-four covers, the overplus is paid at a dollar per cover to the person who has undertaken to furnish the kitchen. For example: at the wedding-feast of prince Henry, all the covers which exceeded the usual number were paid for only at the rate of a dollar per cover, excepting the large sea fish and the game, which the king paid for separately. Out of the three and thirty dollars the contractor furnishes the wood and coals, the kitchen furniture and linen, and whatever relates to the kitchen, excepting the wages of the cooks, which are paid by the king himself. He keeps four cooks; a Frenchman, an Italian, a Prussian, and an Austrian. Each of them dresses him four dishes at dinner, and two at supper, whether he is at home, or not. He entertains the officers of the first battalion of his guards the year round. One day they have beer, and the

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and his dinner-time did not much exceed an hour. After dinner, he generally conversed with some of his guests for about a quarter of an hour, walking about the room. He then retired into his private apartment, making low bows to his company. It was so much his practice to make very low bows, even when no persons were present but his own attendants, that Voltaire remarks, that it was

‘the next a pint of wine a head. Every day, at noon, he treats also the officers of the two other battalions of his guards with three large dishes of meat boiled or roasted, and with bread and beer. It is a kind of luncheon, or whet, for those who choose to partake of it; and the price of this is likewise regularly settled.’ *Idée du Roy de Prusse*, ut supra, p. 14, 16.

Voltaire farther informs us, that his household consisted of eight pages, the same number of footmen, four running footmen, and six young men dressed in the Eastern manner, all in rose colour, with galloon lace. In all his own apartments, in those of the two queens, and of the princess Amelia, the furniture is also of a rose colour, or a pale pink. He adds, that his father was fond of hunting, and had a tolerable equipage for that purpose. But the present king, on his accession to the throne, ordered his great huntsman, who was passionately fond of hunting, to sell it. The great huntsman thereupon represented, that it would be advantageous to the king to continue to sell the game as before; and he ventured to assure his majesty, that by suppressing the chase he would lose twenty thousand dollars per annum. The king then said, “I give you this moment the whole equipage; I also give you up all my game, and the fishing in the rivers, and you shall pay me twenty thousand dollars a year.” The unfortunate huntsman did not dare to refuse the king’s offer: he paid it till he had ruined himself, and till he had neither estate, nor game, nor fish left. *Ibid.* p. 26, 28.

thought

thought to have made him stoop in the shoulders. He continued in private till five o'clock, when his reader waited on him. That office was frequently performed by the marquis D'Argens [L], and sometimes

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[L] JOHN BAPTIST DE BOYER, marquis D'ARGENS, was descended from a noble family, and born at Aix in Provence, in the year 1704. He entered into the army when he was only fifteen years of age, contrary to the inclinations of his father, who intended him for the profession of the law; and some time after he formed a connection with an actress. He went through a variety of adventures in his youth, of which he published an account in his *Memoirs*, which were printed in one volume, 12mo. He accompanied the marquis de Chateaurenard to Algiers, Tunis, and Constantinople. On his return to France, having now quitted the army, he applied himself for some time, by the desire of his father, to the study of the law, and became an advocate; but he was soon weary of the profession, and in a short time wholly abandoned it. He engaged in a number of intrigues, and in gaming, and entered again into the army in 1733. He was present at the siege of Kehl, where he was slightly wounded in 1734; and at the siege of Philipsburgh he had a fall from his horse, by which he was very much hurt, and soon after quitted the service. He afterwards went to Holland, where he published several of his works, which appear to have recommended him to the notice of the king of Prussia, who invited him to his court, and made him one of his chamberlains, and a director of the royal academy of sciences. But, before he went to Berlin, which was in 1742, he had been one of the chamberlains to the duchess of Wurtemberg; and when he quitted the service of that princess, she settled on him, as a mark of her regard, a pension of six hundred florins *per annum*.

The marquis D'Argens married at Berlin; and having continued about twenty-five years at the Prussian court, he returned again to France, and lived for some years at Aix, his native place.

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sometimes by Darget, or Mettrie. His reading lasted about two hours, and this was succeeded by a concert, in which he himself was a performer upon the flute, and which lasted till nine. When the concert was over, he was attended by VOLTAIRE, ALGAROTTI, MAUPERTUIS, or some other wits, or favourites, whom he had invited. With these he supped at half an hour after nine; and his company seldom consisted of more than eight persons, the king himself included. During the sup-

place. He died at the country seat of his sister, the baroness de la Garde, near Toulon, in 1771. He is represented to have been a man of very agreeable manners; and in company he was much distinguished for the wit, vivacity, and gaiety of his conversation; but when not in company, he seems frequently to have been very low spirited; and he said of himself, that his opinions sometimes depended on the weather. His memory was remarkably tenacious, he understood several languages, and wrote with great ease and fluency, but without much strength. He was the author of many works, which were collected together, and published in twenty-four volumes, 12mo. in 1768. His most celebrated performance was his *Letters Juives*, which were translated into English, and published under the title of the *Jewish Spy*, in six volumes, 12mo. One of his pieces, which is a defence of the doctrine of materialism, was published in English, in 8vo. in 1749, under the title of "Man a Machine;" and another, in two volumes, 12mo. under the title of "New Memoirs, establishing a true knowledge of mankind." His works contain some just observations on the superstitions and absurdities of the church of Rome, and in favour of toleration; but these passages are mixed with others of a very different nature, unfavourable to divine revelation, and to the real interests of religion and morality; and many of the topics which he discusses, are treated in a very trifling and superficial manner.

per,

per, and after, great freedom of conversation took place; and at twelve the king went to bed.

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Of the royal suppers, and of his attendance on the king at this period, Voltaire gives the following account: 'Our suppers were very agreeable. I know not if I am deceived, but I think we had a great deal of wit. The king was witty, and gave occasion to wit in others; and what is still more extraordinary, I never found myself so much at my ease. I worked two hours a day with his majesty; I corrected all his works; and never failed to praise highly whatever was worthy of praise, though I rejected the dross. I gave him details of all that was necessary in rhetoric, and in criticism, for his use. He profited by my instructions, and his genius assisted him still more than my lessons. I had no court to make, no visits to pay, no duty to fulfil. I led a life of liberty; and had no idea of any situation more happy than that which I then enjoyed²²².' Of the conversation at the king's suppers, Voltaire says, 'Never was there a place in the world, where liberty of speech was so fully indulged, or where the various superstitions of men were treated with so much ridicule and contempt. God was respected; but those who in his name had imposed upon mankind were not spared. Neither women, nor priests, ever entered the palace; and, in a

²²² Memoires de Voltaire, p. 111, 112.

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‘ word, Frederick lived without a court, without a council, and without religion ²²³.’

IN another place Voltaire, speaking of Frederick’s great officers of state, and of his household, says, ‘ He has a lord-chancellor, who never speaks in council ; a great huntsman, who dares not shoot a quail ; a high-steward, who has nothing to order ; a serjeant of the wine-cellar, who does not know whether there is any wine in the cellar ; a great master of the horse, who has it not in his power to have a horse saddled ; a lord-chamberlain, who never gave him his shirt ; and a great master of the wardrobe, who does not know the king’s taylor ²²⁴.’ The functions of all these offices, he remarks, were executed by FREDERSTORFF ; who was also valet de chambre in ordinary, gentleman of the king’s bed-chamber, and cabinet secretary ²²⁵. But though Frederick was attended with little state at Sans-Souci, or Potsdam, yet Voltaire informs us, that when he was at Berlin, he made a great display of magnificence on public days. ‘ It was a superb spectacle,’ says he, ‘ to see him at table, surrounded by twenty princes of the empire, served in vessels of gold, the richest in Europe, by two and thirty pages, and as many young heiduques, all splendidly dressed, and bearing dishes of massy gold. The state-officers were also

²²³ Memoires de Voltaire, p. 79, 80.

²²⁴ Idée du Roi de Prusse, p. 24, 25.

²²⁵ Id. *ibid*.

‘employed on these occasions, though unknown at
‘any other time ²²⁶.’

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THE king himself chiefly resided at SANS-SOUCI, and of this palace the following description is given by Bielfeld. ‘This palace,’ says he, ‘stands but
‘a cannon shot from the gates of Potsdam. It is
‘situated on the summit of a hill, at the foot of
‘which flows the river Havel, which is there of a
‘considerable breadth. As the king was walking
‘one day over this hill, he stopt a little on the top
‘of it; and being struck with the beautiful and
‘extensive prospect, he determined to erect a small
‘building there, which might serve as a casual
‘summer retreat; and his majesty himself drew
‘the first plan of it. This building, which was
‘originally no more than a royal lodge, is now be-
‘come a summer residence worthy of Frederick.
‘This palace has only one story, and is raised from
‘the ground by three steps, which go round the
‘whole building. The roof is in the Italian taste;
‘in the middle of it there is a small dome, and it
‘is surrounded by a stone balustrade, ornamented
‘with a number of vases and groups of children.
‘The windows are lofty and circular, and conti-
‘nued quite down to the floor. The front next
‘the garden is very richly ornamented.—The front
‘next the country, where is the principal entrance,
‘is adorned with fluted pillars of the Corinthian
‘order. The two wings, which are on this side,

²²⁶ *Memoires*, p. 87, 88;

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‘are connected by a double row of pillars, which
‘form a colonnade, in the manner of that of St.
‘Peter’s at Rome. The inside of this palace is
‘extremely beautiful. Taste and magnificence
‘every where accompany each other.’—‘His ma-
‘jesty’s library is at the end of the palace, next
‘his bed-chamber. It is of a circular form, and
‘surrounded by book-cases of cedar, curiously
‘wrought and glazed, and decorated with festoons
‘of gilt copper. Over these cases are placed
‘marble busts of the most celebrated authors of
‘antiquity.’—‘The shelves are filled with a small
‘but rich collection, which forms a complete sys-
‘tem of every kind of useful and ornamental learn-
‘ing, among which are French translations of the
‘Greek and Roman classics; and such antient au-
‘thors of merit, of whom translations have not
‘been printed, his majesty has caused to be trans-
‘lated for his own use, and preserved in manu-
‘script in this library ²²⁷.’ The baron afterwards
describes the garden, of which he speaks in very
high terms, and which is decorated with fine sta-
tues; and he adds, ‘The king has not contented
‘himself with adorning his palace and gardens,
‘with a magnificence truly royal, but he has like-
‘wise embellished the face of the whole country
‘around; so that wherever the eye turns, it is de-
‘lighted by rich and pleasing objects ²²⁸.’

²²⁷ Lettres familières, tom. II. p. 330—335. ²²⁸ Ibid. p. 339.

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ANOTHER writer says, 'The palace of SANS-SOUCI, which was built by his majesty, is agreeably situated about a quarter of a league from Potsdam, on a rising ground. It is a low building, the style of which is extremely simple. The apartments are judiciously laid out, and furnished with great taste. In this palace there is an admirable gallery of pictures, in which the king has collected many capital performances of the most celebrated painters, particularly of those of the Flemish school. The gardens are spacious, and abound with ornaments, such as statues and vases. One part of them is set apart for the choicest and best fruit trees. No person is allowed to go to Sans-Souci, not even the royal family, without the king's special permission²²⁹.'

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FREDERICK'S attention to the embellishment of his palaces, did not prevent him from attending to objects of greater national importance. He had, for some years preceding the present period, adopted very judicious methods for increasing the population of his dominions; he gave liberal encouragement to all French Protestants who would come and settle in his dominions; he expended large sums in the clearing of waste lands; he caused navigable canals to be made, which were highly beneficial to different parts of his dominions; and he peopled the deserts of Pomerania, by giving

²²⁹ Observations on the Military Establishment, &c. of the King of Prussia, p. 17, 18.

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bounties to great numbers of industrious emigrants to settle in that province. More than sixty new villages arose amidst a barren waste; and a numerous population, and successful agriculture, were now exhibited on those plains, which, before the accession of Frederick, had been solitary and desolate.

In the month of June, 1752, prince Henry, second brother to the king of Prussia, was married to the princess Wilhelmina, of Hesse Cassel, the daughter of prince Maximilian. When the princess arrived at Charlottenburgh, Bielfeld says, that “the king went into the court before the palace, and received her highness as she came out of the coach. The princess made the king a compliment, which was at once sprightly and respectful; which his majesty answered by a very tender and affectionate embrace²³⁰.” After the marriage was solemnized, a variety of entertainments took place at the court, and at Berlin; and Italian operas, French comedies, illuminations, and fire-works, were exhibited.

²³⁰ Letters, vol. II, p. 83, 84.

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Misunderstanding between the king and Voltaire.—The latter involved in a law-suit with a Jew.—The king interferes in an academical dispute between Maupertuis and Koenig.—Voltaire supports the cause of the latter, in opposition to the king.—A satirical piece against Maupertuis, written by Voltaire, publicly burnt at Berlin.—Voltaire quits Berlin, and is arrested at Franckfort.

WE have seen, in the preceding chapter, that the king of Prussia had been successful, in what was long the object of his aim, procuring Voltaire to reside with him at the court of Berlin. But the harmony between them was not of very long continuance. When Voltaire had been nearly two years at the Prussian court, a misunderstanding took place, which ended in an open rupture, and a total separation. To this several causes appear to have contributed. Frederick is said to have been disgusted, at the extreme familiarity with which Voltaire behaved to him in public; and as Voltaire's turn was highly sarcastic, and his powers of ridicule sometimes employed even against the king himself, this also was probably a source of offence [M]. A law-suit, in which Vol-

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[M] Voltaire himself says, "I felt how displeasing my free spirit must be, to a king more absolute than the Great Turk," *Memoirs*, p. 141,

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taire happened to be involved with a Jew, is stated likewise to have extremely exasperated Frederick against him. When the peace of Dresden was concluded, it was stipulated, that all the subjects of the king of Prussia, who were interested in the Saxon funds, should be exactly paid. A very dishonourable use of this stipulation was made by some of the Prussians, by trading in what were called bills of the *staire*; and Voltaire was charged with being concerned in this traffic. The *staire*, or *staur*, was a bank established at Dresden; and the elector of Saxony had thrown into circulation so great a number of bills upon this bank, that they could no longer find payment, and lost half their value. The Saxons had for a long time made use of them in their trade; and Holland, Germany, and Prussia, were over-run with them. But after the treaty of Dresden, as the elector of Saxony was obliged, by that treaty, to pay the full amount of all the bills in the hands of Prussian subjects, many of the Prussians bought up these bills very cheap, and were paid for them at their original value. The king of Prussia himself, it is said, highly disapproved of this traffick; and remarked, that his cousin Augustus had made a mistake [N], but that

[N] The king's meaning seems to have been, that Augustus had been guilty of an oversight, in not having stipulated, that the bills of which the Prussian subjects were to be paid the full value, should be those only of which they were actually possessed, at the time when the treaty was made,

he

he ought not to take advantage of it ²³¹. Voltaire had employed a Jew, whose name was Herscheld, to negociate at Leipzig, as his friends say, bills of exchange to the amount of ten thousand crowns: but the enemies of Voltaire gave out, that the Jew was employed in negociating, for him, bills of the *staire*; and this information was communicated to the king. As Voltaire was always extremely attentive to the accumulation of money, it is not improbable that he might engage in this traffic. However that be, a law-suit took place between him and the Jew, which made a great noise at Berlin. When the Jew was at Leipzig, he had sent Voltaire, as a security for his bills of exchange, some diamonds which had belonged to Chasot, a French officer in the Prussian service, and which had been given to that officer by the duchess of Mecklenburgh. But Voltaire was informed, that the diamonds were not really the property of Herscheld, and that he was not a man to be trusted. He, therefore, recalled him from Leipzig, and ordered him to desist from engaging any more in his negociations. On Herscheld's return to Berlin, he charged two hundred crowns for the ordinary expences of his journey, which Voltaire paid; but the Jew also made an additional charge of five hundred crowns for extra expences, which Voltaire refused to pay. It is also said, that the Jew re-

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²³¹ Villette's Life of Voltaire, translated by Mr. Monke, p. 180.

fused

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refused to take back the diamonds, alleging, that
 Voltaire had taken out some large stones, and substituted a number of smaller in their stead. Voltaire then exhibited a charge against him in one of the Prussian courts, and the Jew was imprisoned. The affair now began to excite the attention of the public, and a law-suit took place, which was several months before it was terminated. The king, who, from the representations that had been made to him, had formed a very unfavourable opinion of the conduct of Voltaire in this business, signified to his chancellor Cocceius, that he should not in the least interfere in the affair, but left it entirely to be determined by the judges. Voltaire then applied to Maupertuis, and desired him to recommend his cause to mons. Jarriges, one of the judges. This Maupertuis refused, saying, that "he could not interfere in a black affair." The king at length became so much exasperated at the business, and probably at some other circumstances in the conduct of Voltaire, that he called for his secretary Darget, and directed him to write to Voltaire, that he insisted on his quitting his dominions in twenty-four hours. Darget, surprized at this order, hesitated, and desired the king to repeat his order a second time. Frederick himself then seemed to cool a little, and asked Darget what he thought of the business. Darget replied, "Sire, you have called him to your court. The persons appointed to try his cause are upon the point

“ point of judging him. If he be found guilty, CHAP.
 “ you will then have time enough to dismiss him.” XIV.
 The king paused for a moment, and then said to A. D.
 Darget, “ You are right: you are an honest 1752.
 “ man ²¹².”

IN a few days after, the cause was determined, and it was determined in Voltaire's favour. The imprisonment of the Jew was declared to be lawful; he was condemned to refund the bills of exchange, to take back the diamonds, and to pay a fine of ten crowns. The question whether Voltaire was, or was not, concerned in trading in bills of the *staire*, was probably not decided in the court in which the cause was tried, as that was not the point in contest between him and Herscheld. But if Voltaire had not been conscious of somewhat wrong in his own conduct, a recommendation of his cause to one of the judges could not have been necessary. As he was known to be a favourite of the king, he was at least as likely as the Jew to obtain impartial justice. It may also be remarked, that the smallness of the fine, which was imposed upon the Jew, seems to afford a kind of presumption, that no evidence of very criminal conduct had been produced against him. Whatever might be the merits of the cause, as it was determined in favour of Voltaire, he again appeared at court; and soon after obtained permission of the king to retire, for the benefit of his health, to a small house

²¹² Villette's *Life of Voltaire*, at *supra*, p. 183.

CHAP. in the country, that Frederick had given to
 XIV. D'Argens. After some stay there, he returned
 A. D. again to court, and the king and he were apparent-
 1752. ly reconciled.

OTHER causes of misunderstanding soon, however, began to manifest themselves. Some of the other wits at Frederick's court are represented as having been jealous of the partiality which the king discovered to Voltaire [o]; and they reported to his majesty such sarcasms of Voltaire as they thought would give him offence. On the death of Mettrie [p], the king was informed that Voltaire had said,

[o] Voltaire says, that 'one day, after reading to the king, Mettrie, who spoke whatever came uppermost, told his majesty, that some persons were extremely jealous of my favour and fortune.' "Be quiet a while," said Frederick; "we squeeze the orange, and we throw it away when we have swallowed the juice." Mettrie did not fail to repeat to me this fine apophthegm, worthy of Dionysius of Syracuse. From that time, I determined to take all possible care of the orange-peel.' *Memoires*, p. 117.

[p] Voltaire informs us, that 'METTRIE was the most frank and declared atheist of all the persons of the faculty in Europe. He was, in other respects, a gay, pleasant, thoughtless fellow, who understood the theory of physic as well as any of his brethren; but he was, without exception, the worst practitioner upon earth; and he had, therefore, quitted the profession. He had ridiculed the whole faculty at Paris, and had even written many personalities against individuals among the physicians, which they could never pardon; and they obtained a decision against him, in consequence of which a warrant was issued for his apprehension. Mettrie thereupon retired to Berlin,

said, that “ the place of King’s Atheist was vacant.” With this, however, Frederick was not greatly offended.

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lin, where he amused himself sufficiently by his gaiety, and likewise by writing and printing all that can be imagined most impudent upon manners. His books pleased the king, who made him not his physician, but his reader.’— Mettrie died from having eaten a patty stuffed with truffles, after a very hearty dinner at the table of lord Tyrconnel, envoy from France. It was pretended, that he had been confessed before his death; a report which filled the king with great indignation, and into the truth of which, therefore, he made the strictest inquiries. They assured him, that it was an atrocious calumny; for that Mettrie had died as he had lived, abjuring God and the physicians. His majesty was satisfied, and immediately composed his funeral oration, which was read, in his name, at a public meeting of the academy, by Darget, his secretary. He likewise settled a pension of six hundred livres upon a *filles de joye*, who had been brought by Mettrie from Paris, where he left his wife and children.’ *Memoires*, p. 115, 116, 118, 119.

The king of Prussia, in his *Eloge du Sieur La Mettrie*, says, that JULIEN OFFROI LA METTRIE was born at St. Malo’s, on the 25th of December, 1709. He received part of his education at the college of Constance, and part at the college du Plessis. The account given of him by the king, is much more favourable than that of Voltaire. Frederick says, ‘ He studied rhetoric at Caen, and as he had much genius and imagination, he carried away all the prizes for eloquence. He was born an orator. He was passionately fond of poetry and polite literature; but his father, who thought that more was to be gained by being an ecclesiastic, than by being a poet, destined him for the church.’ His father’s wishes, however, were not gratified: he was persuaded to apply himself to physic, which he studied under Boerhaave, and took the degree of doctor of physic at Rheims.

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fended. But with another sarcastic remark of Voltaire's, relative to his writings, he is said to have been much more displeased. General Mantein happened to be in the apartments of Voltaire, who was examining and correcting some memoirs of the Russian empire, written by that officer, and which were to be published in French, when a poetical piece of the king's was brought to Voltaire to revise and correct. On receiving the royal

Rheims. In 1742, he was made physician to the French guards, by the interest of the duke de Grammont. He accompanied that nobleman at the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy. In the last of those actions the duke was killed by a cannon ball, and Mettrie was thereby deprived of a patron. He published several medical works, and a piece called *L'Histoire Naturelle de l'Âme*, written in support of the system of materialism. This gave offence to the clergy, who maintained, as the king of Prussia says, that "a physician, accused of heresy, could not cure the diseases of the French guards."

Mettrie was also the author of a work, entitled, *La Politique des Medecins*; and this so much incensed the physicians, that they united with the clergy in such a persecution against him, that he was obliged to quit France. He afterwards went to Leyden, where he published another satirical piece against the physicians, and another piece in defence of materialism. At the beginning of the year 1746, he went to Berlin, where he was admitted a member of the royal academy, and received a pension from the king. He died at Berlin, at the house of lord Tyrconnel, in the forty-third year of his age. Frederick says, that he had an inexhaustible fund of natural gaiety, great wit, and a fertile imagination; and that he was regretted as an honest man, and a learned physician, by all those who had not been imposed upon by the calumnies of the divines.

verses,

verses, Voltaire said to the general, "Let us leave
" off for the present, my friend. You see the
" king has sent me his dirty linen to wash: I will
" wash your's another time ²³." Maupertuis, it
is said, took care that his majesty should be made
acquainted with this speech ²⁴.

BUT the principal cause of misunderstanding be-
tween Frederick and Voltaire, and which at length
occasioned their total separation, was the part that
the latter took in a dispute between MAUPERTUIS
and KOENIG, and in which Voltaire acted in direct
opposition to the king. Before the arrival of Vol-
taire at Berlin, he and Maupertuis had been on
very good terms together; they had been personally
acquainted at Paris, and at the house of madame
du Chatelet, and letters highly complimentary had
passed on both sides. But when they often met
together at Frederick's court, it soon appeared, that
they were mutually disgusted with each other.
Maupertuis was thought to be displeased at the
honours and distinctions that were conferred by the
king on Voltaire; and the latter was probably of-
fended that Maupertuis, after he came to Berlin,
should continue to hold the office of president of
the royal academy of sciences. This gave him a
kind of rank among the men of letters at Berlin,
to which Voltaire might think no man but himself

²³ *Commentaire Historique sur les Oeuvres de l'auteur de la Henriade*, p. 60.

²⁴ *Id.* *ibid.*

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could be entitled, in any place in which he resided, Voltaire had been for a considerable time personally acquainted with Koenig; but there seems reason to believe, that the aversion which he had now conceived against Maupertuis, was the real cause of his taking so decided a part in the controversy between him and Koenig.

THE contest between Maupertuis and Koenig was occasioned by a piece written by the former, and read before the royal academy of sciences at Berlin, entitled, *Recherche des lois du mouvement*, in which he maintained, "That when there happens
" any alteration in nature, the quantity of action,
" necessary to produce this alteration, is the least
" possible ³³⁵." This principle he illustrated in several of his other pieces, and founded on it a demonstration of the existence of the Deity. His principle was also claimed by himself, and his friends, as a discovery: but M. Koenig, who was an able mathematician, librarian to the prince of Orange, and a member of the academy at Berlin, asserted, that Maupertuis's principle was not new, and that it was to be found in the fragment of a letter written by Leibnitz. Maupertuis then called upon Koenig to produce that letter, but he could not produce the original: and the academy of Berlin now interposing, publicly declared, that the passage cited by Koenig as the fragment of a letter of Leibnitz, and which was published in the *Actes*

³³⁵ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. IV. p. 36.

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Eruditorum of Leipzig, carried with it evident marks of falsity, and was unworthy of credit. M. Euler also engaged in the contest in support of Maupertuis, in a dissertation which he published on the principle of a *minimum* in *action* [Q]. But many thought, that the academy ought not to have interfered in this business; that Koenig was not only a learned man, but a man of veracity; that his whole crime was, that he had offended the vanity of

[Q] Koenig not only denied that Maupertuis had made any discovery, but also endeavoured to shew that his principle was not true. Euler, on the contrary, contended, that Maupertuis had made a discovery, and that his principle was well founded. He admitted, at the same time, that it had been asserted both by antient and modern philosophers, that nature always follows the most easy paths, or employs the least expence in her operations; and that this, therefore, was not a discovery. But the point, he said, was, not to find out who it was that first said there was such a law in nature, but who was the first that exhibited that law in a clear light, and determined, that nature spares, not only sometimes, but always, and in all her operations; and this, he affirmed, had only been done by M. Maupertuis. The old philosophers, and followers of Aristotle, he said, had established it as a law, that nature took the shortest course in all her operations, but they had not explained any phenomenon from it. But M. Maupertuis, from his principle, had examined and explained all the laws relative to light, both with regard to its propagation and refraction. By the principle of M. Maupertuis, the quantity of action was estimated by the product of the space multiplied by the velocity. And that this product, M. Euler said, not only in the motion of the rays of light, but in all the motions and operations of nature, becomes in reality the smallest possible, is the whole foundation of the principle of the *minima actio*.

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A. D. 1752. Maupertuis; and that he was only unfortunate in not having the original letter that he had quoted in his possession. Koenig himself complained, that his rights as a man of letters were violated, by the academy interposing their authority in a literary controversy. He afterwards published a warm vindication of himself; and the academy of Berlin thought proper to expel him from their society.

VOLTAIRE now openly took the part of Koenig, and censured the proceedings of the academy. And Maupertuis having about this time published his *Lettre sur le progrès des sciences*, Voltaire took every opportunity of turning it into extreme ridicule. He says of it, that ‘nothing had ever been written so ridiculous and absurd. The good man seriously proposed to travel directly to the two poles, to dissect the heads of giants, in order to discover the nature of the soul by the texture of the brain; to build a city, in which nothing should be spoken but the Latin language; to dig a pit to the center of the earth; to cure the sick by piaistering them over with gum-refin; and, finally, to prophesy, by enthusiastically inflating the fancy. The king laughed at his book, I laughed at it, all the world laughed at it²³⁶. Maupertuis’s performance had in it some ill-grounded and whimsical opinions, but it also contained sentiments that were just and rational, and was far from being so ridiculous a piece as it was

²³⁶ Memoires de Voltaire, p. 120, 121.

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represented to be by Voltaire. It appears to have been addressed to the king of Prussia, though without expressly naming him; and was intended to point out some probable methods of advancing knowledge in the sciences, and to recommend some researches and inquiries, which Maupertuis thought would be beneficial to mankind. He was desirous, that the southern hemisphere should be accurately explored, and that the interior parts of Africa should be better known. The Patagonians, he considered as a great object of curiosity; and he seemed to give much credit to the reports that had been published concerning them. "These men," says he, "undoubtedly deserve to be known. The largeness of their size would be, perhaps, the least thing to be observed. Their ideas, their knowledge, their history, would be a still greater curiosity²³⁷." Speaking of the South Sea, he also says, "It is in the islands of this sea, that navigators assure us they have seen savage men, hairy, and having tails; a kind of middle species between apes and men [R]. I had much rather have an hour's conversation with one of these, than with one of the finest wits in Europe²³⁸."

²³⁷ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, tom. II. p. 387, 388.

[R] In another place he says, 'We should see, perhaps, a very different construction of the brain from that of ours, if we had some communication with the giants in the southern hemisphere, or with the hairy men having tails, of whom I have before spoken.' Ibid. p. 428.

²³⁸ Ibid. p. 382, 383.

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In order to render the Latin tongue once more a living language, he proposed that some prince should build a city, in which persons well versed in Latin should be assembled; and in which they should preach in Latin, plead in Latin, and perform plays in Latin. "I do not believe," says he, "that the Latin spoken would be that of the court of Augustus, but neither would it be that of the Poles; and the young persons who would come into that city, from many countries of Europe, would learn more Latin in it in one year, than they learn in five or six in the present seminaries ²³⁹." He proposed some methods for making farther advances in the science of astronomy; he thought the medical art in a very low state; and recommended, that the punishments of criminals should be rendered more beneficial to mankind, by making a variety of experiments on their bodies when living; which, at the same time that it gave them a chance of escaping with life, might contribute greatly to the advancement of medical science ²⁴⁰.

THOUGH the king of Prussia, agreeably to Voltaire's account, might laugh with him in private at some passages in Maupertuis's book, and at some of his pleasantries concerning him, yet when he saw his president and his academy both violently and publickly attacked, about the affair of Koenig,

²³⁹ Oeuvres de Maupertuis, ut supra, p. 399, 400.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 401, 407, 408, 413.

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he was so zealous in their defence, that he himself wrote a vindication of them, which was printed at Berlin, under the title of *Lettre d'un Academicien de Berlin à un Academicien de Paris*. In this piece, Frederick fully repaid all the high compliments which he had himself occasionally received from Maupertuis [s]. He stated the reasons that had occasioned

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[s] PETER LEWIS MOREAU DE MAUPERTUIS was descended from a noble family, and born at St. Malo's, in France, in the year 1698. In his youth he discovered a strong propensity to the mathematics, and also an inclination to a military life. He entered into the *mousquetaires* in 1718, but continued to employ his leisure hours in study. After having continued two years in that corps, he obtained the command of a company of cavalry; but his attachment to the mathematics increasing with his age, he soon quitted the service, that he might devote himself entirely to scientific pursuits. In 1723, he was elected a member of the royal academy of sciences at Paris; and a few years after he went to London, where he was elected a fellow of the royal society. After his departure from England, he went to Switzerland, where he became acquainted with John and Daniel Bernouilli. In 1732 he published, at Paris, a discourse *sur les différentes figures des astres*. In 1736, M. Maupertuis was placed at the head of those mathematicians, who were sent by the French king towards the north pole, in order to measure a degree there, and by that means to ascertain the figure of the earth. Other mathematicians were sent about the same time to measure a degree near the equator. A dispute concerning the figure of the earth had subsisted forty years. Sir ISAAC NEWTON had demonstrated, from mechanical principles, that the earth was an oblate spheroid, or that it was flatted at the poles, and juttet out towards the equator. The celebrated Cassini, however, asserted the direct contrary, and had many partisans.

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occasioned Koenig to be censured by the academy; the opposition that was made to Maupertuis is represented

After the return of M. Maupertuis, and the other mathematicians to Paris, he published an account of their voyage, in 1738, by which the opinion of Sir ISAAC NEWTON was confirmed beyond dispute. Maupertuis was afterwards fond of introducing this subject into his academical discourses, and seemed inclined to arrogate too much to himself in the business, and not sufficiently disposed to do justice to the merit of NEWTON. In a discourse read by him before the royal academy at Berlin, in 1747, he says, 'The English had the advantage of having formed the best *conjectures* upon this question. France had the glory of deciding it, and of deciding it in their favour.'

In 1742, M. Maupertuis published, at Paris, *Eléments de Géographie*, and also a letter upon the comet which appeared in that year. But before the appearance of these pieces, he went to Berlin, in consequence of an invitation from the Prussian monarch. He accompanied Frederick in part of his Silesian war, and was taken prisoner and plundered by some Austrian hussars, at the battle of Molwitz. He was carried to Vienna, where he met with a very polite reception from the grand duke of Tuscany, and his consort the queen of Hungary. Among other things of which he was plundered by the hussars, he told the grand-duke, that one was an English watch, made by Graham, which he very much regretted, because it was extremely useful to him in his astronomical observations. The grand-duke happened to have one made by the same artist, which was set with diamonds; and he said to Maupertuis, "Our hussars took your watch only by way of pleasantry; they have brought it back again, and I now return it to you;" at the same time giving him his own watch, which was much more valuable than that which had been taken from him. In the course of his conversation with the queen of Hungary, her majesty

presented as originating solely in envy; and Koenig, and those who supported him, he speaks of in very unfavourable

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majesty observed to him, that she had been informed, that the princess Louisa Ulrica of Prussia, with whom he was acquainted, and who was afterwards married to the prince-royal of Sweden, was the most beautiful princess in the world. "Till this day, madam," replied Maupertuis, "I was entirely of that opinion." Having received many civilities from the queen and the grand duke, and obtained his liberty, he went to France, and made some stay there. He then returned again to Berlin, and became president of the royal academy of sciences and belles lettres in that city. In that situation he was much respected, and he was treated with great regard by the king; but his tranquility was exceedingly disturbed by his dispute with Koenig, and the attacks of Voltaire. He was also troubled with ill health; and in 1756, he returned to France, where he continued till the year 1758, when he went to Switzerland. He died at Basil, on the 27th of July, 1759, at sixty-two years of age, being attended, in his last moments, by his friends Daniel and John Bernouilli.

Maupertuis was the author of several pieces, besides those which I have already mentioned; particularly *Essai de Cosmologie*, *Essai de Philosophie Morale*, *Venus Physique*, *Astronomie Nautique*, *Système de la Nature*, *Relation d'un Voyage au fond de la Lapponie*, &c. His Works were published together at Lyons, in four volumes, 8vo. in 1756, and in 1768. He was undoubtedly a man of considerable abilities; but, in his own time, his talents were much over-rated. The marquis de Villette says, 'that Maupertuis was a fiery, but gloomy genius; overbearing in company; one of the most amiable men alive when all attention was paid to him, and every preference shewn him; but, as soon as his vanity was hurt, the austerity and melancholy of his countenance suddenly betrayed the haughtiness of his disposition. It was nearly with this kind of expression that he

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unfavourable terms. Maupertuis, he said, was the glory of the royal academy of Berlin; their memoirs were more adorned by his writings than by those of any other member; he was admired by all Europe for the superiority of his genius, and the extent of his knowledge; and such was the excellency of his character, that he might be considered as the model of a virtuous man, and a true philosopher. In the academy, Frederick said, he not only presided, but managed their revenues, disposed of vacant places, and granted pensions, with the greatest judgment and impartiality. He was the protector of talents and of merit, and had always manifested the most disinterested spirit. He was admired, it was added, by all the learned who had read his works; beloved and esteemed by the members of the academy; and more distinguished

‘had his picture drawn; the head erect, a stern countenance, with one hand flattening the poles of the earth, and by this attitude assuming the honour of a discovery which belonged to NEWTON.’ He appears to have been a man of probity, and of regular and virtuous manners; but his ideas of human life were very gloomy. Lord Chesterfield had a high opinion of him. In one of his letters to his son, who was about to make a journey to Berlin, he says, ‘I would have you endeavour to get acquainted with monsieur de Maupertuis, who is so eminently distinguished, by all kind of learning and merit, that one should be both sorry and ashamed of having been even a day in the same place with him, and not to have seen him.’ And in another letter, he says, ‘Monsieur de Maupertuis is, what one rarely meets with, deep in philosophy and mathematics, and yet *bonnête et amiable homme*.’

at court, and more favoured by the king, than any other man of letters.

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To the king's defence of Maupertuis an answer was published, said to be written by Voltaire, under the title of *Reponse de l'Academicien de Paris a l'Academicien de Berlin*, in which Koenig was zealously defended; and in which it was observed, that from the great influence and power which Maupertuis, as president, had in the academy, even according to the statement of the royal author of the vindication of Maupertuis, it was manifest, that the academy of Berlin was not a proper or impartial tribunal, to settle a literary dispute between M. Koenig and the president.

IN Frederick's letter he had observed, that
 " Monf. Maupertuis was considered in France, as
 " of all others the most capable geometrician, to
 " verify those truths which NEWTON had conjectured in his closet, relative to the figure of the
 " earth. On that account he had been sent into
 " Lapland; and by his geometric operations, he
 " had contributed as much to his own glory, as to
 " that of the English philosopher, whom he was
 " led by his modesty to consider as his master ²⁴¹."

Upon this passage it was remarked, in the answer to the king's piece, that " it required great sagacity, and a superiority of genius, to determine
 " in the closet, by meditations grounded upon the

²⁴¹ *Lettre d'un Academicien de Berlin, &c.* published in *Eloges de trois Philosophes*, 8vo. Lond. 1753, p. 65.

" laws

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“ laws of natural philosophy, the figure of the
“ earth; but it required nothing but exactness, and
“ some skill in mensuration, to verify the impor-
“ tant truth discovered by Newton. The methods
“ which were to be employed for that purpose had
“ long been made use of by Snell, Picard, Musschen-
“ broek, and others; so that in this respect no-
“ thing new had been done. And as to the
“ operations, it was M. Clairaut who had made
“ the calculation of triangles; it was M. Camus
“ who had regulated the instruments; and Messieurs
“ Celsius and Le Monier who had made the ob-
“ servations. All the part, therefore, that M.
“ Maupertuis had in the business, was that of
“ having been a spectator, and publishing, in good
“ French, an account of the voyage, and of the
“ circumstances with which it was attended ²⁴².”

BUT Voltaire was not satisfied with attacking Maupertuis by statements of facts, and fair argument. He also employed against him those powers of ridicule, of which he was so eminently a master; particularly in a piece called “ the Tomb of the Sorbonne;” and in another called “ the Diatriba of Doctor Akakia, physician to the pope.” Frederick, who was much exasperated at the freedom with which Maupertuis was treated in the last of these pieces, accused Voltaire with being the author of it. Voltaire, who was accustomed to

²⁴² *Reponse de l'Academicien de Paris*, published in the *Eloges de trois Philosophes*, p. 21, 22.

disclaim his works, protested, on his honour, that he had no hand in that satire; but the king confuted him, by producing the manuscript of his secretary, which he had ordered to be seized at the printer's ²⁴³. The "Diatriba of Dr. Akakia" was burnt, as a defamatory libel, by the common executioner, in all the public places in Berlin, on the 24th of December, 1752 ²⁴⁴. Voltaire, now considering himself as ruined at the Prussian court, returned the king his ensign of the order of merit, and his chamberlain's key, with the following lines:

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*Je les reçus avec tendresse;
Je vous les rend avec douleur:
Comme un amant jaloux, dans sa mauvaise humeur,
Rend le portrait de sa maitresse.*

FREDERICK, being somewhat softened by this act of submission, sent him back the tokens of his former kindness, and granted him a long conference, in which Voltaire, if he could not justify, at least in some degree excused himself ²⁴⁵. The king, however, afterwards sent the abbé de Prades to Voltaire at Berlin, and required of him, that he should write a letter of apology to Maupertuis. This requisition put Voltaire into a rage. He not only refused, in the roughest manner, to comply

²⁴³ Historical and Critical Memoirs of the Life and Writings of M. de Voltaire, translated from the French of Dom Chaudon, 8vo. 1776, p. 157.

²⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 157.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 157.

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with what was desired of him, but directed the abbé to tell the king, that "he might go to hell." The abbé, in order to induce Voltaire, to send back another answer, told him, that his majesty had ordered him to bring back his answer *verbatim*; and asked him, whether the answer, which he had given him, was what he was really to deliver to the king? "Yes," replied Voltaire; "and you may add to it, that I told you, that you might go to hell with him ²⁴⁶."

WHEN the abbé de Prades returned to Potsdam, the king desired to know what Voltaire had said to him. The abbé hesitated, and seemed unwilling to deliver his message. But Frederick insisted upon knowing precisely what had passed. The abbé then informed him exactly, and the king appeared highly diverted at Voltaire's vehemence, and at the politeness of his message. He made the abbé repeat it several times, and at every repetition laughed immoderately ²⁴⁷. The king and Voltaire had afterwards another interview [r]; in which he requested

²⁴⁶ Villette's Life of Voltaire, ut supra, p. 190.

²⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 181.

[r] It has been said, that in one of these interviews, Voltaire appeared before the king, holding the *Akakia* in his hand, which he threw into the fire, saying, "There, fire, there are the remains of that wretched book, which has made me lose your friendship." Frederick hastened to the fire-place, and endeavoured to save the *Akakia* from the flames, in which he was opposed by Voltaire. The king, however, carried his point,

requested permission to go to Plombieres, for the benefit of his health. Frederick granted his consent, and made him promise to return. But having afterwards discovered, that Voltaire had caused the *Akakia* to be printed in Holland, which had occasioned the president of his academy to be laughed at throughout all Europe, and being also informed, that Voltaire had written a satirical piece against himself [u], he wrote to him the following letter :

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‘ You are at liberty to leave my service whenever you please ; but, before you go, let me request you to return the contract of your engagement, the key, the cross, and the volume of poetry with which I entrusted you. I could wish that my

point, burnt his ruffles, and saved the book. The scene was closed by Frederick and Voltaire laughing heartily together, and embracing each other. This story is not very credible. The king would hardly be so anxious to save a book, of which there were then probably many more copies. The story also seems too much an imitation of that of the president Hainault, who burnt a pair of ruffles in saving the *Henriade* from the flames. It has been asserted, that the king himself had assisted in writing some passages in Voltaire’s satires against Maupertuis, though he afterwards expressed so much indignation at their being published.

[u] This piece was entitled, *La Vie privée du Roi de Prusse*. Darget, his secretary, requested the king to give him leave to write an answer to this publication. Frederick replied, “ My dear Darget, it is not worth your while to refute the calumnies of this work. It is my business to do my duty, and to let malicious people say what they please.” *Villette’s Life of Voltaire*, p. 359.

‘ works

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‘ works had only been exposed to the critical observations of you and Koenig.

‘ I cannot regard the censures of those, who
‘ imagine that they raise their own reputation, by
‘ ruining that of others. I have neither the madness, nor the vanity, of certain authors. I look
‘ on the cabals of men of letters as the disgrace of
‘ literature, but do not the less esteem those who
‘ cultivate learning with more liberal minds. My
‘ contempt falls only on the leaders of parties ²⁴⁸.
‘ March 16, 1753.’

AFTER having received this letter, Voltaire quitted Berlin; and when he called to his valet de chambre to assist him in taking off the cross of the order of merit, and his chamberlain's key, which he sent to the king, he said, “ Here! divest me of “ these disgraceful marks of servitude.” From Berlin he went to Leipzig, where he continued to publish satirical pieces against Maupertuis [v], and from

²⁴⁸ Chaudon's Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 158, 159.

[v] Maupertuis is said to have been so much exasperated at the satires that Voltaire published against him, as to send him a letter, threatening to take on him a personal revenge. In allusion to this, the following ludicrous passages appeared, in a continuation which Voltaire published, at Leipzig, of his *Diatriba of Dr. Akakia*. ‘ The Native of St. Malo's, (Maupertuis,) having been again attacked by his frenzy, has vented his ravings against his good physician, Akakia, who is now ill at the city of Leipzig in Germany, and has written him a menacing letter, in which he threatens to come and murder him.

from thence he went to the court of Saxe-Gotha.
 "I went," says he, "to pass a month with the
 "duchess

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"Since the days of M. de Pourceaugnac, who wanted to visit
 his physician sword in hand, so malicious a patient was never
 known. Dr. Akakia, being alarmed, presented the following
 petition to the university of Leipzig.

The Petition of Dr. AKAKIA.

"Dr. AKAKIA having fled for protection to the university of
 Leipzig, where he has sought an asylum from the attempts of a
 Laplander, a native of St. Malo's, who has declared he will
 murder him, in the midst of the university, earnestly entreats
 the doctors and scholars, to arm themselves against that bar-
 barian with their penknives and ink-stands; and he particularly
 requests his brethren, the physicians, to administer a purge to
 the said savage, the moment he appears, in order that he may
 evacuate all his peccant humours, and that they may preserve,
 by their art, the little reason still possessed by this cruel Lap-
 lander, and the life of their good brother Akakia, who re-
 commends himself to their protection. He likewise intreats
 the apothecaries not to forget themselves on this occasion."

"In consequence of this petition, the university issued a de-
 cree to arrest the native of St. Malo's, at the gates of the city,
 as soon as he should arrive to perpetrate his parricide on the
 good Akakia, who had behaved to him like a father. The
 following is the order of the university, and is still to be seen
 in the *Acta Eruditorum*.

"A *Quidam* having written a letter to an inhabitant of Leipzig,
 in which he threatens to murder the said inhabitant; and as
 the murdering of any person is manifestly contrary to the privi-
 leges of the fair; this is to request all, and every one, to give
 information against the said *Quidam*, the moment he shall pre-
 sent himself at the gates of Leipzig. He is a philosopher,
 whose gait is in the compound ratio of absent and precipitate.
 His eyes are round and small, his peruke the same, and his nose
 crushed

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“ duchess of Saxe-Gotha, the best princess in the
 “ world, the most mild, the most prudent, and of
 “ the

“ crushed flat. He has an ill look, a full face, and a full head;
 “ that is to say, full of himself. He always carries a *scalpel* in
 “ his pocket, to dissect tall people. Whoever will give informa-
 “ tion concerning him, shall receive a thousand ducats reward,
 “ to be paid at the Latin city, building by the said *Quidam*, or
 “ out of the comet of gold and diamonds which is soon to fall on
 “ the earth, according to the predictions of the said *Quidam*,
 “ philosopher and assassin.”

“ The physician, Akakia, also wrote a conciliatory epistle to
 “ the native of St. Malo’s, of which the following are extracts.

“ Mr. President,

“ I have received the letter with which you honoured me.
 “ You inform me, that you are in good health, and that you
 “ have completely recovered your strength, and you threaten to
 “ come and murder me.—What ingratitude towards your poor
 “ physician Akakia!—You are not contented with not paying
 “ him, but are determined to be his assassin. Such a proceeding
 “ is unbecoming the president of an academy, and a good
 “ Christian, as you are. Permit me to congratulate you on the
 “ return of your health; but I have not so much strength as you.
 “ I have kept my bed this fortnight; and, therefore, must en-
 “ treat you to defer the philosophical experiment, which you
 “ are so desirous of making. Perhaps you mean to dissect me;
 “ but consider, I am not a giant from *Terra Australis*, and be-
 “ sides that my brain is so small, that you can acquire no new
 “ ideas, on the nature of the soul, from an examination of its
 “ fibres.—How can you think of carrying your animosity so
 “ far as to kill me?—If you can but heat your imagination just
 “ enough to peep into futurity, you must perceive, that if you
 “ come to murder me at Leipzig, where you are not more beloved
 “ than any where else, and where your letter is deposited, you
 “ will run a risk of being hanged, which would too much hasten

“ the

" the most equal temper; and who, God be thank-
 " ed, did not make verses. I afterwards spent a
 " few days at the country-house of the landgrave
 " of Hesse, who was still a remove farther from
 " poetry than the princess of Saxe Gotha. Thus
 " I took breath, and thence continued, by short
 " journies, my route to Franckfort, where a very
 " whimsical kind of destiny awaited me ²⁴⁹."

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AT Franckfort on the Maine Voltaire was arrested, on the first of June, 1753, at the desire of the Prussian resident. One reason for detaining him was, to oblige him to give up the contract which the king had made with him, and by which he had bound himself to pay to him twenty thousand livres a year: but the principal reason was, to get from him a volume of the king's poetry, which Voltaire had in his possession, and which, he said, Frederick had given him. Voltaire declared, that he would readily give up the contract, and the volume of poetry, but that he had left them both at Leipzig with his other effects; however, he pledged his honour, and gave a written promise, not to absent himself from Franckfort, without per-

' the moment of your maturity, and be quite unbecoming the
 ' president of an academy.'

' P. S. As we have here fifty or sixty persons who have ridiculed you prodigiously, they beg leave to inquire, on what day it is that you intend to murder them all.'—Historical and Critical Memoirs of Voltaire, by Dom Chaudon, p. 164—169.

²⁴⁹ *Mémoires de Voltaire*, p. 129, 130.

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mission, or without satisfying the demands that had been made upon him. Notwithstanding this engagement, the magistrates of Franckfort were informed, much to their surprize, that he had suddenly left that place. He was immediately pursued, and brought back to the city under a guard of ten soldiers. The reason he assigned for his departure was, that he intended to try the waters of Visbaden³⁵⁰. When he had delivered up the volume of the king's poetry, he expected to have been set at liberty, but he was still detained, together with his niece, madam Denis, who was then with him. He might now, perhaps, be detained, till he had given up the king's contract with him. Voltaire himself says, ' On the twelfth of June, the packet of poetry came, and I faithfully gave up the sacred deposit, imagining that I might then depart, without offence to any crowned head. But at the very instant when I was setting off, I was again arrested, together with my secretary, and my servants. They even arrested my niece; and four soldiers dragged her, through the middle of the dirt, to the house of M. Schmitt, who had, by I know not what right, the title of privy-counsellor to the king of Prussia. This Franckfort trader thought himself at that time a Prussian general. He commanded twelve of the town guards, with all the importance and

³⁵⁰ D. Chaudon's Hist. and Crit. Memoirs of Voltaire, p. 159.

' grandeur,

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‘grandeur, which an affair of such consequence required. My niece had a passport from the king of France; and, moreover, had never corrected the king of Prussia’s verses. Women are usually respected even amidst the horrors of war; but the counsellor Schmitt, and the resident Freitag, endeavoured to pay their court to Frederick, by hauling one of the fair sex through the mud. They shut us up in a kind of inn, at the door of which the twelve soldiers were posted. Four others were placed in my chamber, four in the garret, where they had conducted my niece, and four in a still more wretched garret, where my secretary was laid upon straw. My niece, indeed, was allowed a small bed; but four soldiers, with fixed bayonets, served her instead of curtains and chamber-maids.’—‘We were detained for twelve days as prisoners of war, for which we paid one hundred and forty crowns a day. The merchant Schmitt had seized on all my effects, which were returned to me one half lighter. One need not wish to pay dearer for the poetry of the king of Prussia. I lost about as much as it had cost him, to send for me, and take my lessons; so that we were quits at parting²⁵¹.’

In a letter, written some time after to his niece, referring to the treatment which she and himself had received at Franckfort, Voltaire says, ‘I

²⁵¹ Memoires de Voltaire, p. 133—137.

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‘ sometimes imagine, that all this must have been a
 ‘ dream, or that it happened in the time of the
 ‘ tyrant of Syracuse. I ask myself, whether it can
 ‘ possibly be true, that a French lady, travelling
 ‘ with the passport of the king of France, should
 ‘ have been dragged through the streets of Franck-
 ‘ fort by soldiers, and thrown into prison, without
 ‘ any form of law, or without her servant being
 ‘ permitted to attend her; while four soldiers, with
 ‘ their bayonets fixed, kept guard at the door;
 ‘ and when she was forced to suffer the clerk of
 ‘ Freitag, a rascal of the lowest order, to pass the
 ‘ whole night in her chamber. When La Brin-
 ‘ villiers [w] was arrested, the executioner was
 ‘ never left alone with her. There has been no
 ‘ example of such indecent barbarity. And what
 ‘ was your crime? That you had made a journey
 ‘ of two hundred leagues, to accompany a dying
 ‘ uncle, whom you consider as your father, to the
 ‘ waters of Plombieres. It is not honourable to
 ‘ the king of Prussia, that he has made no atone-
 ‘ ment for so shameful an insult, committed in his
 ‘ name, and by one who stiled himself his minister.
 ‘ As to myself, he had caused me to be arrested
 ‘ for having in my possession a printed volume of
 ‘ his poetry, of which he had made me a present,

[w] The marchioness de Brinvilliers, who poisoned her
 father, her two brothers, and her sister, because they had pro-
 cured her lover, St. Croix, to be sent to the Bastile. She was
 beheaded, and afterwards burnt, in 1679.

‘ and

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‘and to which I had some right. He had bestowed
‘it on me as a pledge of his kindness, and as the
‘reward of my care. He wished to receive back
‘his present; and for that purpose he had nothing
‘to do but to speak the word. It was not worth
‘while to imprison an old man, who was going to
‘take the benefit of the waters. He should have
‘remembered, that for fifteen years past he has
‘prepossessed my mind by his seducing kindnesses,
‘and that he has drawn me out of my native
‘country in my old age; that I have laboured two
‘successive years for his improvement; that I
‘have faithfully served him, and never been any
‘way deficient in my duty; and finally, that it was
‘very much beneath his rank, and his glory, to
‘take part in an academical dispute, and to con-
‘clude his favours by sending soldiers to demand
‘back his poetry ²⁵².’

OF the conduct of the king of Prussia in this transaction, I have never met with any vindication. The principal reason assigned, for his causing Voltaire to be arrested at Franckfort, was, an apprehension that he intended to turn his poems into ridicule. But no ridicule that Voltaire could have thrown on the king of Prussia's poetry, would have reflected on him so much dishonour, as his manner of stopping him at Franckfort, and regaining possession of the poetical volume that he had

²⁵² *Idee du Roi de Prusse*, p. 50—56.

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given him. Even allowing for some exaggeration in the representations of Voltaire, yet, when the manner in which he was invited to the Prussian court is considered, the conduct of Frederick appears to have been totally indefensible.

AFTER Voltaire had obtained his liberty at Franckfort, he went to Mentz, where he stopt some time, "to dry his clothes," as he said, "after his shipwreck." He afterwards proceeded to Mannheim, where he was received with great respect by the elector palatine

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Frederick opposes the election of a king of the Romans.—

He detains a part of the debt due to British subjects from the Silesian revenues, by way of reprisals for captures of Prussian vessels, made by British cruizers.

—He visits the city of Amsterdam, in company with colonel Balbi.—Opposition made by him to the subsidiary treaty entered into between Great Britain and Russia.—He concludes himself a treaty with the king of Great Britain.

AMONG the political objects, which engaged the attention of the king of Prussia at the present period, one was, the prevention of the election of a king of the Romans. It was the earnest desire of the court of Vienna, to obtain this dignity for the arch-duke Joseph, eldest son and heir of the reigning emperor, in order thereby to secure his future elevation to the imperial throne. This design was strongly supported by the king of Great Britain, who even gave subsidies to some of the German princes to promote the measure, which he considered as calculated to secure the peace of Germany, and to prevent such troubles as had arisen from a disputed succession at the death of Charles the Sixth. But the king of Prussia opposed this design with great firmness, though with much appearance of moderation. When the im-

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perial minister at Berlin communicated to him the sentiments of his Britannick majesty on this subject, and also solicited his vote for the archduke Joseph, when the election of a king of the Romans should be proposed to the electoral college, Frederick replied, That he was extremely well disposed to manifest his regard for their imperial majesties, and to give them most genuine proofs of it, even in the proposed election of a king of the Romans, from a regard to the great merit of the present candidate, the archduke Joseph. But he left it to the consideration of their imperial majesties, whether the election would not be a little premature, if transacted at a time when his imperial majesty was in the flower of his age, enjoying perfect health; and when all Europe, particularly the empire, was in a state of profound tranquility; so that no circumstance seemed to point out the necessity of such an election. He also remarked, that, in case of the emperor's death, Germany would find herself in a very disagreeable situation, under the government of a minor. For these reasons, he said, he could not help advising their imperial majesties to wait till the archduke should be of age, when his election might be carried on with more conformity to the laws and constitutions of the empire, and in a manner more suitable to the majesty of the whole Germanic body ²³³. This reply he caused to be

²³³ Smollett's Hist. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 273, 297, 298.

circulated among the electors, and particularly transmitted it to the king of Great Britain. He recommended it to the electors, that they should deliberate maturely on this subject, and confer together in a body as well as in private, that they might proceed according to the antient custom of the electoral college, and take such measures as should be judged expedient for the honour and advantage of the whole German empire. He also observed, that the reasons for electing a king of the Romans ought to be submitted to all the states of the empire, and not merely to the electoral college.

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THE circular letter of the king of Prussia was answered both by the king of Great Britain and the elector of Bavaria; and they asserted, that it was the privilege of the electoral college only, without any participation of the other princes of the empire, to elect a king of the Romans during the life of the emperor, in order to maintain the peace, and preserve the liberties of Germany; and that the neglect of this wise precaution had produced bloody wars, and many fatal consequences to the empire. They observed, that nothing could more contribute to the establishment of the public tranquility than this measure, which was ardently desired by the majority of the German princes; and that, although the archduke Joseph wanted a few years of being of age, and the death of the reigning emperor might possibly happen during that

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that prince's minority, yet it would be much less prejudicial to the empire to have a minor chief, than to see the succession altogether unsettled. The Prussian monarch also received a declaration to the same purpose from the elector of Mentz; and understanding that this prince, as arch-chancellor of the empire, intended to convoke an electoral diet, in order to propose the election of a king of the Romans, he wrote an elaborate letter to his electoral highness, explaining more particularly his reasons for postponing the election. He quoted an article of the treaty of Westphalia, which expressly declares, that the election of a king of the Romans shall be discussed and ordained by the common consent of the states of the empire; and, therefore, he could not, he said, conceive, what right the electoral college had to arrogate this privilege to themselves, in exclusion of the other states of the empire. He observed, that the imperial capitulations, which were the only laws of the empire that treated of this subject, mentioned only three cases in which it was lawful to proceed to such an election; namely, the emperor's leaving Germany, and long absence from it; his advanced age, or such an indisposition, as rendered him incapable of managing the concerns of government; and any case of emergency, in which the preservation of the prosperity of the empire was interested. He affirmed, that none of these cases at present existed; that, in case the imperial crown should devolve

devolve to a minor, many mischiefs and disorders must ensue, as the constitutions of the empire had established no regulations nor regency in that event; that an election of this nature, carried on under the power, influence, and authority of the head of the empire, would strike at the fundamental privileges of the princes and states; and, consequently, would in time overturn the constitution of the empire, and totally change the nature of the imperial office; which, from being an elective dignity, conferred by the free and independent suffrages of the electoral college and states of Germany, under certain capitulations, obliging the prince thus chosen to govern according to law, would become an hereditary succession, perpetuated in one family, which, of course, must be aggrandized to the prejudice of its co-estates, and the ruin of the Germanic liberties ²³⁴.

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THE objections urged by the king of Prussia, against raising the archduke Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans, were not altogether without reason; and it was natural that he should be averse to a measure, which tended to the aggrandizement of the house of Austria. He was, however, suspected, of having some reasons against the measure, which he did not openly avow [x]. But

²³⁴ Smollett's Hist. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 299.

[x] Dr. Smollett says, ' Perhaps, if the truth was known, ' this enterprizing prince had projected some great scheme, with ' the

CHAP. the design was still prosecuted with great warmth
 XV. by the king of Great Britain and the court of
 A. D. Vienna; and the latter even endeavoured to induce
 1753. the king of Prussia to favour it, by consenting that
 the treaty of Dresden, confirming to him the possession of Silesia, should be guaranteed by the diet of the empire; a sanction which he now actually obtained, together with the ratification of his imperial majesty²⁵⁵. Notwithstanding this concession, Frederick still continued to oppose the election of a king of the Romans; and, by his persevering opposition, the execution of the scheme was prevented for many years.

ABOUT this time the king of Prussia published a declaration of his determination, to seize upon a part of the Silesian revenues, which were due to the merchants of Great Britain, in order to indemnify his subjects for the losses which they had sustained, by the depredations and violences which had been committed on them, by English ships of war,

‘ the execution of which this proposed establishment would have
 ‘ interfered. Certain it is, he exerted himself with that spirit
 ‘ and perseverance which were peculiar to his character, to
 ‘ frustrate the intention of the courts of London and Vienna in
 ‘ this particular, and was assisted with all the intrigue of the
 ‘ French ministry.’ Hist. vol. III. p. 300. In another place
 the same historian intimates a suspicion, that the king of
 Prussia himself “ aspired in secret at the imperial dignity.”
 Ibid. p. 315.

²⁵⁵ Smollett’s Hist. of England from the Revolution, vol. III. p. 301.

war, and privateers, on the high seas. He alleged, that eighteen Prussian ships, and thirty-three neutral vessels, in which the subjects of Prussia were concerned, had been unjustly seized by English cruizers. The damages were stated by him to amount to a very considerable sum; and he maintained, that it was agreeable to the law of nations, to indemnify his subjects out of the money belonging to the English which was then in his hands²⁵⁶.

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AN answer to the Prussian memorial was drawn up by some of the ablest English civilians; and they contended, that according to the law of nations, when two powers were at war, all ships were liable to be stopt, and examined to whom they belong, and whether they were carrying contraband goods to the enemy; and that captures by sea fell properly under the cognizance of those powers, under whose jurisdiction the seizures were made. His Prussian majesty, therefore, could not, they said, consistently with the law of nations, determine these disputes in his own tribunals. They proved, that many of the facts stated in the Prussian memorial were not true; and they asserted, and produced evidence in support of their assertions, that where appeals had been made to the English courts of admiralty, impartial justice had been administered. They maintained, that the law of nations, founded upon justice, equity, and reason, did not allow of reprisals, except in case of violent injuries,

²⁵⁶ London Magazine, vol. XXI. p. 603, 604, 605.

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directed or supported by the state, and when justice was absolutely denied by all the tribunals, and afterwards by the prince. At all events, his Prussian majesty could have no right to stop any part of those Silesian revenues, which were due to British subjects. He had engaged his royal word to pay the Silesia debt to private men. The debt was negotiable, and many parts of it had been assigned to the subjects of other powers. It would not be easy to find any instance, in which a prince had thought proper to make reprisals upon a debt due from himself to private men. There was always a confidence that this would not be done; because a private man lends money to a prince upon the faith of an engagement of honour; it being well known, that a prince could not be compelled, like other men, in an adverse way, by a court of justice. So scrupulously had England, France, and Spain, adhered to the public faith in this respect, that even during the war they suffered no inquiry to be made, whether any part of the public debts was due to subjects of the enemy; though it was certain, that many of the English had money in the French funds, and that many of the French had money in the funds of England.

THE English civilians farther proved, from the nature of the Silesia loan, that the king of Prussia could have no right to attach any part of it under the pretence of reprisals. This loan had been made to the late emperor of Germany, Charles VI.

in

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in the year 1735. It was not a state transaction, but a mere private contract with the lenders, who had advanced their money, upon the emperor's obliging himself and his heirs to repay the principal with interest, at the rate, in the manner, and at the times in the contract mentioned, without any delay, demur, deduction, or abatement whatsoever. As a specific real security the emperor had mortgaged his revenues of Upper and Lower Silesia, for the payment both of principal and interest; and the whole debt was to be discharged in the year 1745. If the money could not be paid out of the revenues of Silesia, the emperor and his heirs still remained debtors, and were bound to pay. The empress-queen, therefore, made it a condition of her yielding the duchy of Silesia to his Prussian majesty, that he should stand in the place of the late emperor with respect to this debt. In consideration of this cession, the king of Prussia had engaged to her, both by the treaty of Breslaw, and by that of Dresden, that he would pay the money due to the subjects of England by the empress queen, according to the contract signed at London; and consequently had bound himself to stand in the place of the late emperor, in respect to this money, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. The late emperor could not have seized this money as reprisals, or even in case of open war between the two nations, because his faith was engaged to pay it without any delay, demur, deduction, or

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abatement whatsoever. The king of Prussia, therefore, could have no right to seize this money by way of reprisals; and this was the more manifest, because the whole debt was to have been discharged in 1745, which was prior to any of the seizures stated to have been made by English cruizers. If the contract had not been broken, the money which was now attached would not have been in possession of his Prussian majesty ²⁵⁷.

THOUGH these reasons were unanswerable, they did not produce their proper effect on the king of Prussia. Of the Silesia debt, he detained two hundred thousand crowns, by way of reprisals ²⁵⁸. In this transaction his conduct was unjustifiable. It was commendable in him to endeavour to secure a free navigation to his subjects; but he had no right to invade the property of private men, or to seize money which he had bound himself to pay by a solemn contract. The British government did not behave with much dignity on this occasion; but the fact seems to have been, that his Britannick majesty, from his great concern for his electoral dominions, was extremely unwilling to embroil himself with his good nephew, the king of Prussia.

IN the month of June, 1755, the king of Prussia went to Cleves, from whence he proceeded *incognito* to Nimeguen, and from thence to Am-

²⁵⁷ Univ. Mag. vol. XII. p. 91—93.

²⁵⁸ Memoire Historique sur la derniere annee, &c. par le compte de Hertzberg, p. 16.

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sterdam, accompanied only by colonel Balbi, and one servant ²⁵⁹. He very particularly viewed the harbour and the shipping; and, during his stay at Amsterdam, was much pleased with the house of M. Brankamp, a merchant, who had a fine collection of pictures, and also with the house of the Jew Pinto. When Frederick went to the house of M. Brankamp, that gentleman was not at home; and his wife would not suffer the king to enter the room in which he was to wait for her husband, till he had pulled off his shoes, which were not sufficiently clean for the neatness of her apartment. Mrs. Brankamp is also said to have been of so intractable a temper, that after her husband had returned, and acquainted her with the high rank of their guest, she maintained that she had acted rightly, and refused to make any apology for the liberty that she had taken with the Prussian monarch. As Frederick found, that his being at Amsterdam soon began to be rumoured about, he hastily quitted the city with his companion the colonel, and went back to Cleves, from whence he returned to Potsdam.

DURING the course of the year 1755, a treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, which particularly excited the attention of the king of Prussia. His Britannick majesty having entered into a war with France, and being anxious to secure

²⁵⁹ Gent. Mag. vol. XXV. p. 330. London Mag. vol. XXIV. p. 398.

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his electoral dominions, concluded a treaty with the empress of Russia, by which it was stipulated, that in case the dominions of his Britannick majesty in Germany should be invaded, on account of interests or disputes which regarded his kingdoms, her imperial majesty was to furnish him with a body of troops consisting of forty thousand infantry, with the necessary artillery, and fifteen thousand cavalry, and also forty or fifty galleys, with the necessary crews. These succours were to be furnished, whenever they should be applied for by the king of Great Britain; who was to pay to the empress of Russia a subsidy of one hundred thousand pounds sterling a year, which was to continue for four years; but while the Russian troops were engaged in actual service, the subsidy was to be raised to five hundred thousand pounds sterling annually. His Britannick majesty also, in case the empress of Russia should be herself attacked, was to send a squadron of British men of war into the Baltick²⁶⁰. This treaty gave so much umbrage to the king of Prussia [v], that he immediately declared, by his ministers at all the courts of Europe, that he would

²⁶⁰ London Magazine, vol. XXIV. p. 577, 578, 579.

[v] From some of the clauses in this subsidiary treaty, concluded between Great Britain and Russia, it was generally understood, that it was particularly intended by the treaty, not only to defend Hanover against any invasion of the French, but also against any attack that might be made against that electorate by the king of Prussia.

oppose

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oppose with his utmost force the entrance of any foreign troops into the empire, under any pretence whatsoever²⁵¹. This declaration embarrassed both the British and Russian courts, and even gave offence to the court of France. For the French monarch had already marched large bodies of troops towards the frontiers of the empire, and erected several great magazines in Westphalia, with the permission of the elector of Cologne. In this state of things, the monarchs of Great Britain and France both endeavoured to enter into a treaty with the king of Prussia; and the duke de Nivernois was sent as ambassador extraordinary to Berlin, to endeavour to persuade his Prussian majesty to retract his declaration, and enter into a new alliance with France. Voltaire says, that the French king, from a desire of retaining the king of Prussia in his alliance, sent 'the duke de Nivernois, a man of wit, and who made very pretty verses, as his ambassador. The embassy of a duke, a peer, and a poet, seemed likely to flatter the vanity and the taste of Frederick; but he laughed at the king of France, and signed his treaty with England, the same day that the ambassador arrived at Berlin. He played off the duke and the peer very happily [z], and made an epigram upon the poet²⁵².'

²⁵¹ Smollett, ut supra, p. 431.

²⁵² Memoires de Voltaire, p. 149.

[z] He entertained the duke de Nivernois at Berlin with the utmost magnificence, and treated him with so much distinction,

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THE treaty between Great Britain and Prussia was signed on the sixteenth of January, 1756. By this treaty it was declared, that, for the defence of their common country, Germany, and in order to preserve her peace and tranquility, which it was feared was in danger of being disturbed, on account of the disputes in America, the two kings of Great Britain and Prussia, for that end only, entered into a convention of neutrality, by which they reciprocally bound themselves not to suffer foreign troops of any nation whatsoever to enter into Germany, or pass through it, during the troubles aforesaid, and the consequences that might result from them; but to oppose the same with their utmost might, in order to secure Germany from the calamities of war, maintain her fundamental laws and constitutions, and preserve her peace uninterrupted²⁶³. An article was also added in this treaty relative to the Silesia loan, and by which private persons were prevented from being injured by the king of Prussia's detention of the funds for the payment of it. It was stipulated, that Great Britain should pay twenty thousand pounds, as an indemnification for the captures of the merchandize which was taken on board Prussian bottoms, and sold during the

that the court of England began to be apprehensive, that Frederick was about to renew his engagements with France. The minister sent to the Prussian court from his Britannick majesty was Andrew Mitchell, Esq.

²⁶³ Smollett, *ut supra*, p. 446. *the consequences of the war;*

war; and that, in return, the king of Prussia should pay the whole of the Silesia loan²⁶⁴. By this treaty with the king of Prussia, the late treaty between Great Britain and Russia was virtually re-nounced. The Prussian treaty, however, was far from promoting peace in Germany, nor did it secure Hanover from invasion; but it was a principal cause of involving Great Britain in a long, burthensome, and expensive continental war, which greatly increased the public debt, and was highly injurious to the nation.

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BEFORE the treaty had taken place between Great Britain and Prussia, or that between Great Britain and Russia, his Britannick majesty, on the commencement of the war between him and the king of France, had made application to the empress-queen, to obtain such auxiliaries as she was to furnish him with by treaty. But her imperial majesty, who did not discover much gratitude for the services she had received from Great Britain, declined furnishing those auxiliaries, under the pretence, that as the contest between France and England related to America only, it was not a case of the alliance; and she afterwards also declined even defending the Barrier in the Low Countries, alleging, that she could not spare troops for that purpose, on account of the hostile preparations that appeared to be making against her by the king of

²⁶⁴ Entick's General Hist. of the War from 1755 to 1763, vol. I. p. 256, edit. 1784.

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Prussia. She undertook, however, to procure the French king's consent to a neutrality for Hanover [A]; but this his Britannick majesty rejected. An alliance was afterwards entered into between the

[A] Dr. Smollett remarks, that this would have effectually secured the electorate of Hanover "from the invasion of every other power but Prussia itself; and it is no strained conjecture to suppose, that the dread of this very power was the true source of those connexions in Germany, which entailed such a ruinous continental war upon Great Britain." Hist. vol. III, p. 433. 444. In another place, this historian observes, that "Had his Britannick majesty made a requisition of the Russian auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment of a warlike monarch, (the king of Prussia) who hovered on the skirts of his electorate, at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week; and if he forebore to avail himself of the treaty with the czarina, he did not know how soon the king of Prussia might be reconciled to his most Christian majesty's design of invasion." Ibid. vol. IV. p. 3, 4. In another place, the same writer says, "Perhaps the elector of Hanover was more afraid of the Prussian monarch than of the most Christian king, knowing with what ease and rapidity this enterprising neighbour could in a few days subdue the whole electorate." Ibid. vol. III. p. 432.

When Voltaire was at Potsdam, in the year 1743, and was employed in endeavouring to persuade the king of Prussia to enter into a new alliance with France, he represents Frederick as not influenced by any friendly sentiments towards the king of Great Britain. He informs us, that he sometimes sent his reflections upon paper, left half blank, from his apartment to that of the king, and Frederick answered his remarks in the margin. "I have this paper still," says Voltaire, in which I have said, "Can it be doubted, that the house of Austria will seize the

" very

the court of Vienna and that of Versailles, in which the court of Petersburg also concurred; and these new connections produced, in the system of European politics, a great and important revolution.

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"very first opportunity to recover Silesia from you!" To which Frederick answered in the margin:

* *Ils seront reçus, biribi,*

* *A la façon de Barbari,*

* *Mon ami.*

* This new kind of negotiation was ended by a discourse, which, in one of his moments of vivacity, he made against the king of England, his dear uncle. These two kings did not love one another. My Prussian monarch told me, that "George was the uncle of Frederick, but not of the king of Prussia;" and he ended by saying, "Let France declare war against England, and I will march." *Memoirs*, p. 107, 108.

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Jealousy and apprehension excited in the neighbouring powers, by the great army of the king of Prussia, his military preparations, and his indefatigable diligence in exercising his troops.—Eventual treaty of partition entered into against him, in case of his giving rise to a new war.—Declaration of his Britannick majesty, relative to the treaty concluded between him and the king of Prussia.

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THE numerous army, which was constantly kept up by the king of Prussia, the indefatigable diligence with which he exercised his troops, his enterprising spirit, and the manner in which he had wrested Silesia from the house of Austria, naturally excited jealousy and apprehension in the states that surrounded him. No prince of inferior power could consider himself as perfectly safe near such a neighbour; and even the most potent states seemed to think it necessary to guard against his designs. As to himself, he appeared to be always prepared for war. Count Hertzberg says, that “his principal attention was always turned to those dangerous designs, which he supposed to be entertained by the court of Vienna, for the recovery of Silesia²⁶⁵.” The fact was, that Frederick knew, that he had obtain-

²⁶⁵ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année, &c. p. 17.

ed Silesia in such a manner, by taking advantage of the critical situation of Maria Theresa on her accession, by attacking her so unexpectedly, and when she was so little prepared for such an event, that there was little reason to imagine, that his conduct could ever be forgiven by the court of Vienna. His sudden irruption into Bohemia, in 1744, had also led the empress-queen, and her ministers, to suppose, that whenever a favourable opportunity occurred, the ambition of his Prussian majesty would lead him to aim at other conquests besides that of Silesia.

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THE king of Poland, elector of Saxony, through whose electoral dominions the king of Prussia had repeatedly marched his troops without his consent, was also jealous of the designs of the king of Prussia, and much inclined to join with those princes, who were desirous of opposing the proceedings, and reducing the power of Frederick. On the eighteenth of May, 1745, a treaty was concluded between the courts of Vienna and Saxony, wherein was the following passage: 'Experience having but too well shewn to what lengths the king of Prussia carries his evil intentions, in order to disturb the repose of his neighbours; and that prince having, on the one hand, repeatedly invaded and laid waste the dominions of her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and, on the other, alarmed his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, by several menaces, warlike preparations,

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tions, and violent passages through his territories, for which it has not been possible to obtain due satisfaction for time past, nor sufficient security for the future; it has been considered, that this double end cannot be obtained, till the said formidable neighbour is confined within narrow bounds²⁶⁶. It was farther stated, that for these reasons, his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as an auxiliary ally, and her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as a party attacked and actually at war, did mutually agree, that neither the one nor the other should lay down their arms, till, besides the conquest of all Silesia, and the county of Glatz, the king of Prussia should be farther reduced. In this treaty it was also stipulated, that in case Austria and Saxony united should be able to take from the king of Prussia the provinces particularly specified, the court of Vienna should have the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; and the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, the duchies of Magdeburgh and Crossen, the circles of Zullichau and Swibus, together with that part of Lusatia belonging to Prussia; or only part of those provinces, in proportion to their conquests²⁶⁷.

THIS treaty was soon after rendered abortive by the conclusion of the peace of Dresden, which put

²⁶⁶ Memorial, exhibiting the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Dresden, &c. published in the Memoirs of Frederick III. king of Prussia, p. 188.

²⁶⁷ Id. *ibid.*

an end to all hostilities between the contending powers. It was, however, afterwards in some degree revived, when a defensive alliance was concluded at Petersburg, between the courts of Russia and Vienna, on the 22d of May, 1746, and to which the elector of Saxony was invited to accede. Count Bruhl, minister to the latter, had, indeed, taken abundant pains to incense the empress of Russia, and her ministers, against the king of Prussia, and to give them the most unfavourable conceptions of his views and designs. For this purpose, he had not scrupled to employ improper intrigues, and sometimes procured falsehoods to be artfully propagated, and communicated as truths to the Russian court ¹⁶⁸.

THE treaty of defensive alliance concluded between the courts of Russia and Vienna, at Petersburg, contained, besides the public articles, several private articles, which were particularly levelled against the king of Prussia, one of which was as follows: ‘ Her majesty, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, declares, that she will observe, religiously and *bona fide*, the peace concluded at Dresden, between her majesty and the king of Prussia, on the 25th of December, 1745; and that she will not, first, depart from the renunciation of the right she formerly had to that part of the duchy of Silesia, and to the county of

¹⁶⁸ Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony exposed, at supra, p. 209, 215, 216, &c.

‘ Glatz,

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Glatz, which have been yielded up. But if, contrary to all expectation and common desire of both the contracting parties, his majesty the king of Prussia should, first, recede from the said peace, whether by hostilely attacking her majesty the empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, her heirs and successors, or her imperial majesty of all the Russias, or even the republic of Poland; in all which cases, the said empress queen's right to the said part of Silesia, and the county of Glatz, yielded up by the above-mentioned peace, and, consequently, her imperial majesty's guaranty thereof, renewed by the first and second articles of this treaty, should again take place, and reassume their full force and vigour: both the said high contracting parties have, in such an unexpected case, but not sooner, expressly agreed, that the said guaranty shall fully take place, and be completely fulfilled, with this additional and most binding promise; that, in order to avert the common danger of such an hostile attack, they will immediately enter into the most close and confidential concert; strictly enjoin the same mutual confidence and good understanding to their respective ministers at foreign courts; and faithfully communicate to each other whatever either of them shall discover of the views, designs, or intentions of the enemy: and, lastly, hold in readiness, in the bordering or nearest counties, viz. her Roman imperial majesty in Bohemia,

‘ Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary; and her Rus-
‘ sian imperial majesty in Livonia, Estonia, and
‘ other neighbouring places, thirty thousand men
‘ at least, namely, twenty thousand foot, and ten
‘ thousand horse; in such manner, that whenever
‘ Prussia shall make an hostile attack upon either
‘ of the parties, the said thirty thousand men may,
‘ within two months at farthest, or at the utmost
‘ three months after a previous and amicable re-
‘ quisition, march to the assistance of the army at-
‘ tacked. But as it is easy to foresee, that sixty
‘ thousand men will not be sufficient to repel an
‘ hostile attack, to re-conquer the provinces ceded
‘ by the treaty of Dresden, and to secure the pub-
‘ lic tranquility more effectually for the time to
‘ come; the two contracting parties have therefore
‘ farther engaged themselves to each other, that,
‘ in the case aforesaid, not only thirty thousand
‘ men, but double that number, viz. sixty thou-
‘ sand men, that is to say, forty thousand foot, and
‘ twenty thousand horse, shall be employed for that
‘ purpose, by each contracting party, and the
‘ sooner the better; both their said imperial ma-
‘ jesties obliging themselves, to that end, to as-
‘ semble respectively the said number of sixty thou-
‘ sand men, as speedily as the distance of the least
‘ remote parts, from whence the troops can be
‘ drawn, will possibly admit. The troops to be
‘ appointed for that purpose, on the part of her
‘ Russian imperial majesty, shall be employed as
‘ well

well by land as by water, according as the occasions shall then be found most proper; but, on the part of her Roman imperial majesty, they shall be employed by land only; in such a manner, that the said troops may, in the beginning, as mutual conveniency shall allow, and after previous concert, make a diversion, at one and the same time, in the said king of Prussia's dominions; and afterwards, if possible, unite and carry on the operations with combined force.—And whereas, in contracting this heartily and well-meant engagement, and by such a powerful assistance to be given, and diversion to be made, in favour of the empress-queen, (if she should be attacked,) her Russian imperial majesty has not the least intention to make any new conquests upon such an occasion, or to appropriate them to herself; and as she has likewise consented to employ the aforesaid sixty thousand men by water as well as by land, and the equipment of a fleet necessary thereto will require a very extraordinary expence; which, considering the advantage that may be expected from it (as the enemy may be more effectually annoyed, and his forces more divided, by water than by land) must be accounted an army far exceeding the sixty thousand men; for these reasons, her majesty the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia obliges herself, in order the more fully to demonstrate her gratitude, to pay, within a year, (to be reckoned from the

time

‘time that Silesia and Glatz shall be again in her
 ‘possession) to her imperial majesty of all the
 ‘Russias, two millions of German florins; from
 ‘which sum she shall not be entitled to make any
 ‘deduction, on account of contributions, that may
 ‘have been raised in the enemy’s country²⁶⁹.’

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WHEN the court of Saxony was invited to accede to the treaty of Petersburg, the count de Vicedom, and the sieur Pezold, the Saxon ministers at Petersburg, were directed to declare, that their court was ready to accede not only to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia, and to concur in the arrangements made by the two courts of Vienna and Petersburg, provided better measures were taken than before, as well for the safety and defence of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompence, proportional to the efforts and progress which should be made. As to the last point, the court of Saxony declared, that if the empress-queen, upon any fresh attack from the king of Prussia, should, by their assistance, not only re-conquer Silesia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would stand to the partition-treaty concluded between his Polish majesty and the empress-queen at Leipzig in 1745; proposing, however, some alteration in the stipulations, and that effectual measures should be

²⁶⁹ Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, *ut supra*, p. 190, 191, 192.

adopted

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adopted for the security of Saxony. But as such measures were not yet agreed upon, the court of Dresden did not formally accede to the treaty, and represented in strong terms the danger to which Saxony might be exposed, if an open and decided part were to be taken against the king of Prussia by his Polish majesty.

IN some instructions sent from the court of Dresden to the Saxon ministers at Petersburg, dated May 23, 1747, is the following passage:

‘ As to the secret article, which regards eventual
 ‘ and stronger measures against a new, sudden, and
 ‘ unexpected attack from the king of Prussia, the
 ‘ king acknowledges therein the prudent forecast of
 ‘ the two empresses, in thinking beforehand how
 ‘ to concert proper measures, and powerfully assist
 ‘ each other, if, contrary to better expectations,
 ‘ and notwithstanding their scrupulous attention to
 ‘ observe their treaties with the said prince, the lat-
 ‘ ter should invade the dominions of either of them;
 ‘ and in this case the king is ready to join in the
 ‘ same measures. But as he is the most exposed
 ‘ to the resentment of so formidable and restless a
 ‘ neighbour, witness the sad experience his majesty
 ‘ has lately had of it, their imperial majesties will
 ‘ not be surprized, that the king, before entering
 ‘ into such a new, eventual, and extensive engage-
 ‘ ment, should take better precautions, as well for
 ‘ his security and mutual defence, as for his being
 ‘ indemnified, and recompensed proportionally to
 ‘ his

‘ his efforts, and the progress made against such an aggressor ²⁷⁰.’

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IN a memorial presented by the Saxon ministers at Petersburg, in the course of the same year, is also the following passage: ‘ His majesty entirely approves of the wise and effectual measures which the imperial courts have eventually taken, in case that his majesty the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the exact observation of the peace concluded with that prince, should again attack, in a hostile manner, the dominions of either party; and he is ready to concur therein. But his majesty has still greater reason, than the two imperial courts, to reflect maturely on it, from the sad experience he has lately had, the king of Prussia having taken a pretence, from the succours he was obliged to furnish to her majesty, the empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, to declare war against him; and moreover the electorate of Saxony, by its situation, is so much exposed to his resentment, that, if it were not immediately assisted, it would be impossible, by its own forces, to withstand such sudden attacks as have been executed by the king of Prussia.’

IN the year 1751, a fresh invitation was made to the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, to accede to the treaty of Petersburg; and his Polish majesty declared his readiness to do it, in a

²⁷⁰ Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, ut supra, p. 195, 196.

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memorial delivered to the Russian minister at Dresden, and sent full powers, and other necessary papers for that purpose, to M. Funck, his minister at Petersburg; but required, at the same time, that the king of Great Britain, as elector of Hanover, should previously be induced to accede to the secret articles of the treaty of Petersburg²⁷¹. But his Britannick majesty could not be prevailed upon to do this; and, therefore, his Polish majesty still declined formally to accede to the treaty.

THE empress of Russia, and her ministers, though they had no immediate quarrel with the king of Prussia, had formed very unfavourable ideas of his designs; and count Bruhl, the Saxon minister, omitted no opportunity of encreasing their animosity against him, in which he was assisted by the ministers of the court of Vienna. In a letter from count Bruhl to M. Funck at Petersburg, dated Feb. 6, 1754, is the following passage: ‘ I do not
‘ doubt but the court of Russia is already informed
‘ of the different movements and arrangements,
‘ which the king of Prussia is making in the king-
‘ dom of that name, with the greatest celerity and
‘ the utmost secrecy, with respect to commerce,
‘ the coin, and especially military preparations. I
‘ also hope that court will be the more attentive
‘ thereto, as those preparations have been remark-
‘ ed to succeed the great augmentation of troops,

²⁷¹ Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony, *ut supra*, p. 203, 204.

‘ which

‘ which the empress of Russia lately ordered to be
 ‘ made in her neighbouring provinces, and that CHAP.
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 ‘ they seem to be in consequence thereof. I have,
 ‘ however, thought proper to communicate to you
 ‘ the advices on this head, which we have success-
 ‘ fully received, in order that you may make use
 ‘ of them, in your conferences with the ministry of
 ‘ the court where you reside. We are very atten-
 ‘ tive thereto, being well satisfied of the king of
 ‘ Prussia’s great desire to intermeddle in the do-
 ‘ mestic affairs of Poland; that his projects to ruin
 ‘ the commerce of Poland, and particularly that of
 ‘ Dantzick, become every day more and more
 ‘ conspicuous; and that his views of aggrandize-
 ‘ ment, on that side, are certainly one of the most
 ‘ flattering objects of his schemes ²⁷².’

OF the confederacy that was forming against him, in case of his giving rise to a new war, and the correspondence between the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Saxony, the king of Prussia was far from being unacquainted. The Saxon dispatches were regularly transmitted to him by the post, for a considerable time, as we are informed by count Hertzberg, through the treachery of a Saxon secretary ²⁷³. The causes of this confederacy against the Prussian monarch are thus stated by Voltaire, in his *Age of Lewis XV.* ‘ Elizabeth,

²⁷² Conduct of the Courts of Vienna and Saxony exposed, p. 210, 211.

²⁷³ Mémoire Historique sur la dernière année, &c. p. 17.

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‘ empress of Russia, was leagued with the empress
‘ Maria Theresa by antient treaties, by the com-
‘ mon interest which united them against the Turks,
‘ and by reciprocal affection. Augustus III. king
‘ of Poland, and elector of Saxony, being recon-
‘ ciled to the empress-queen, and attached to
‘ Russia, to which he owed the title of king of
‘ Poland, was closely connected with these two
‘ sovereigns. These three potentates had each their
‘ complaints against king Frederick. Maria The-
‘ resa had seen Silesia torn from her house; Augus-
‘ tus, and his council, wanted an indemnification
‘ for Saxony, ruined by the king of Prussia in
‘ 1745; and there subsisted between Elizabeth and
‘ Frederick some personal subjects of complaint,
‘ which have often more influence than could be
‘ expected upon the destiny of states ²⁷⁴.’ In his
Memoirs, Voltaire also says, that ‘ in 1756, Eng-
‘ land made a piratical war upon France for some
‘ acres of snow; at the same time that the empress
‘ queen of Hungary appeared very desirous to re-
‘ cover her dear Silesia, which had been wrested
‘ from her by the king of Prussia. She negotiated
‘ for this purpose with the empress of Russia, and
‘ with the king of Poland, that is, in quality of
‘ elector of Saxony; for nobody negotiated with
‘ the Poles ²⁷⁵.’

²⁷⁴ Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

²⁷⁵ Memoires de Voltaire, p. 147.

AFTER the conclusion of the treaty between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia, a defensive alliance was also entered into between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, and the French court also acceded to the treaty of Petersburgh. 'It was now,' says Voltaire, 'that the antient enmity between the houses of France and Austria, which had continued encreasing ever since the times of Charles V. and Francis I. gave way to a friendship which appeared cordially established, to the astonishment of all the nations of Europe. The king of France, who had carried on so cruel a war against Maria Theresa, became her ally; and the king of Prussia, who had been allied to France, became its enemy. France and Austria were thus united, after three hundred years spent in a bloody discord ²⁷⁶.'

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Soon after the conclusion of the treaty between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, complaints were exhibited by the ministers of the empress queen at foreign courts, that her good intentions had been misrepresented, as if the friendly alliance, lately concluded between her imperial majesty and his most Christian majesty, contained secret articles, calculated for the total suppression of the Protestant religion, and to influence the election of a king of the Romans, and that, upon such false suggestions, there had been a proposal made for a league of the Protestant courts against the house of

²⁷⁶ Age of Lewis XV. ch. 32.

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Austria. It was also insinuated, that the ruin of the Catholic faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the kings of Great Britain and Prussia. In answer to these complaints and insinuations, his Britannick majesty caused a memorial to be delivered to the diet at Ratisbon, in which he expressed his surprize to find, that the treaty, which he had concluded with the king of Prussia [B], was industriously represented

[B] Mr. Entick has made the following observations relative to the two treaties entered into by king George II. the first with the empress of Russia, and the second with the king of Prussia. 'The king of Prussia's martial spirit,' says he, 'his disgust for a long time with the house of Hanover, his general attachment to the interest of France, which might dispose him to become a proper instrument to execute the projects of the French ministry, already provided for, against the electorate of Hanover, and its dependencies, put the king of Great Britain, elector of Hanover, upon measures to defeat any attempt to his prejudice by the aids of Prussia; which could not be done so effectually by any other means, as by engaging a power sufficient to deter him, and to keep him quiet, with an army hovering over, and ready to break in upon his regal dominions, the moment his Prussian majesty dared to join France in the execution of the invasion of Hanover. This was certainly a good reason for the Russian treaty.'—'But when his majesty discovered an inclination in the king of Prussia to shake off his French connexions, and to become sincerely an ally to Great Britain, and was from thence thoroughly persuaded, that his electoral dominions had nothing to fear from his arms, it made the treaty with Russia useless; the power, whose motions the Russian army was hired to watch, having become a friend. The only dread, that now appeared, was an invasion by the French; whose

ed as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, and especially with respect to religion. That nevertheless, he observed, the whole empire must be sensible, that he had always made it a rule to support the rights of each of the religions which prevailed in the empire, without any distinction of persons; to maintain justice; to enforce the execution of the laws and constitutions of the empire; to protect its liberties and the public peace; and to contribute to keep up in the Germanic body such a system, as appeared most conducive to its safety.

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‘ whose entrance into the empire was become the sole object of
 ‘ those councils, which were held for the protection of Hanover.
 ‘ The best means to preserve Hanover, was to seek for, and gain
 ‘ an alliance, capable of resisting any foreign power, such as
 ‘ the French, from entering the empire. This could not be
 ‘ done by the Russian troops, which were cantoned in Lithuania,
 ‘ and other distant stations; but might be effectually undertaken
 ‘ with the aid of the king of Prussia. Therefore, as the
 ‘ safety of Hanover was the chief object of these two treaties,
 ‘ and that safety could be more effectually maintained by making
 ‘ the enemy, of whom we were jealous, a friend and ally,
 ‘ and to join in keeping the French from entering the empire, it
 ‘ was a wise and good measure.’ General Hist. of the War from
 1755 to 1763, vol. I. p. 257, 258. edit. 1784. Mr. Entick,
 however, afterwards adds, that ‘ this treaty was soon perceived
 ‘ to contain the seeds of a German war:’ and whatever might
 be the sentiments of this writer concerning the wisdom of the
 measure, the Prussian treaty was certainly productive of an immense
 expence to Great Britain, it tended to throw Austria into
 the arms of France, which was an event not favourable to the
 balance of power in Europe, and it did not even secure Hanover
 from invasion.

That,



CHAP.
XVI.

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1756.

That, in consequence of these principles, he had neglected nothing that might most effectually tend to the support of the house of Austria; but a war having broken out between Great Britain and France, about their possessions in America, and France having made manifest dispositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, his Britannick majesty, being denied by the empress-queen the succours stipulated by treaty, had been obliged to conclude a defensive alliance with the king of Prussia; but that this was without any prejudice to either of the religions exercised in the empire; the contracting parties having had no views in that treaty, but such as were perfectly consistent with the public peace and tranquility. It was farther observed, that time would demonstrate, how little it was the interest of the empress-queen to enter into strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavoured, as it suited her views, to excite distrust and dissension among the princes and states that compose the Germanic body ²⁷⁷.

²⁷⁷ Entick's General Hist. of the War, vol. II. p. 52, 53.
54. Smollett's Hist. of England from the Revolution, vol. IV. p. 5, 6.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



